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SABIN'S *DICTIONARY**

By ROBERT W. G. VAIL

ON THE day before the Fourth of July in the year 1848 the ship "West Point" sailed into New York harbor, and among her passengers was a young Englishman of twenty-seven who had come with his wife and two small sons to seek their fortunes in the New World. His name was Joseph Sabin, and he came from Oxford, where he had been trained as a bookbinder, but his employer, recognizing his special aptitude as a salesman, soon transferred him to his bookstore, where he shortly became the valued adviser of the scholars of the old university town who frequented the shop. Later, in partnership with another young man, he opened a store and book-auction business of his own, married his partner's sister, learned a great deal more about rare books and their values, but failed to make much of a success of his venture.

And so the year 1848 found him established in America, where his remarkable knowledge of books and prices made him immediately valuable to the booksellers of Philadelphia and New York. Working at first for others, he later established his own bookshop and auction business, met various reverses because of the panic of 1857 and the outbreak of the Civil War, but finally became firmly established in New York.

In the course of time he was recognized as the foremost American authority on rare books and the most successful book auctioneer in the country. He became the valued and trusted friend of the leading collectors and soon developed a special

* Read, December 31, 1936, at a meeting of the Society held in Providence, R.I.

interest in the literature of American history, a field in which his knowledge was extensive and his judgment unquestioned. Within a comparatively few years he had compiled over one hundred and fifty catalogues, edited and published a series of reprints of rare books in the field of American history, and published a journal for booklovers.

Joseph Sabin was a man of positive opinions and a great admirer of genuine learning, but he would put on a brusque manner and make short work of a literary charlatan or a mere pretender to historical scholarship. He was a vigorous writer with a terse and sometimes caustic style, and, though a forceful speaker in the cause of temperance, he was never temperate in the amount of work he was willing to undertake. He was, however, never too busy to talk to a real booklover and was always happier in singing the historical and bibliographical praises of a rare volume than in trying to find a purchaser for it.

Having established his New York business on a permanent footing, he turned it over to his sons and devoted the rest of his life to the compilation of his great work: *A dictionary of books relating to America, from its discovery to the present time,* an undertaking which had its inception in 1856 and the first part of which appeared in January, 1867. When he died on the fifth of June, 1881, at the age of sixty, Sabin had printed eighty parts of his *Dictionary* and was a third through the fourteenth volume. The double number containing Parts 81 and 82, on which he was at work when he died, was published the following year.

Then the work was taken over by a quiet, modest, studious young Brooklyn bookseller of twenty-six named Wilberforce Eames, who, like his predecessor and his later collaborator, had received much of his most valuable training for this new task through the compiling of book-auction catalogues. He began where Sabin had left off, with the word "Pennsylvania," and in 1884 published the double number 83–84. Working single-

handed and without thought of other remuneration than the knowledge he would gain in the process, Mr. Eames devoted most of his spare time and many hours when other good citizens were asleep to his self-appointed task. Thus he carried the *Dictionary* along with him while he grew in bibliographical stature until he became, what he still is at the age of eighty-one, the greatest American bibliographer who ever lived.[1]

When Joseph Sabin published his *Bibliography of bibliography* in 1877, he predicted that his *Dictionary* would "probably be completed in 1880." But he found, as we have who came after him, that it is exceedingly difficult to estimate the speed of compilation of so vast an undertaking. From 1884, when Volume XIV was finally completed, until 1892 when the first double number of Volume XX came from the press, Mr. Eames worked steadily on this great task. Then came a long pause in the progress of the *Dictionary*. As Mr. Eames, by this time librarian of the Lenox Library, wrote in 1894, "Other duties have hindered me from continuing the work, but I hope to resume it some day."

Not until 1906 was it possible to make a new beginning, and then the two-year grant of the Carnegie Institution of Washington was only sufficient to help prepare a small part of the waiting copy for the press. Once more the project slumbered until a committee of the American Library Association brought it back to life in 1924. The enterprise was then taken over by the Bibliographical Society of America, and, with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation and the contributions of a group of nine friends, Parts 117 through 121 were completed between 1927 and 1929 under the watchful eye of Mr. Eames, now Dr. Eames, bibliographer of the New York Public Library. Again an untimely end threatened the *Dictionary*, for it was once more left without funds and unfinished in the midst of the seemingly endless Smith family.

[1] [Dr. Eames died December 6, 1937.—EDITOR.]

So the Bibliographical Society, working through the friendly mediation of the American Council of Learned Societies, made another successful appeal to the Carnegie Corporation in 1930. A further grant was secured, and (beginning with "William Smith" in Part 122 of Vol. XXI) the work put in charge of its third editor, so that the burden which had rested for so many years on the willing shoulders of Dr. Eames might be made lighter.

With the new grant came a larger staff, now totaling six, and the *Dictionary* began to take longer strides so that by the beginning of the current year the end was at last in sight. Though the final grant was exhausted and the staff disbanded by the middle of the year, with the work from "WO" to the end still unfinished, it was finally possible to bring the great undertaking to an end in this month of December, 1936, eighty years after Joseph Sabin, in his bookstore on Canal Street, first began collecting titles for his *Dictionary*.

No great scholarly enterprise such as "Sabin" can hope to be self-supporting, and so we cannot be sufficiently grateful to those who made its continuance possible from the point where it languished among the Smiths in 1892. Our sincere thanks must go out to the Carnegie Institution, to the group of friends who came to the rescue in 1927, to the American Council of Learned Societies (and its permanent secretary, Dr. Waldo G. Leland) which lent its prestige to our plea for funds, and especially to the Carnegie Corporation, which supplied the larger grants and so insured the completion of the work.

To the Bibliographical Society of America and its Sabin Committee all praise is due for energetically and persistently standing back of the *Dictionary* in spite of embarrassing delays and unforeseen difficulties. Most of all, we should be grateful to the one who acted as liaison officer between "Sabin" and its financial backers. It was largely through his individual appeals that the necessary funds were raised; he it was who carried our

apologies for delays and our requests for further grants to our backers; and it was because of his personal promise that the work would be finished this year that the final grant was secured. We are, therefore, especially grateful to the chairman of the Sabin Committee and director of the New York Public Library, Dr. Harry Miller Lydenberg.

The twenty-ninth and final volume of "Sabin" ends with serial number 106413, but thousands of these serial numbers represent not one but many titles or editions; in some cases dozens of editions appear in the main entries or the notes of a single number. It is, therefore, probable that well over a quarter of a million different publications appear in the *Dictionary*, as well as the location in the world's great libraries of not far from a million copies.

Those who have not attempted a similar task will hardly realize the great amount of patient labor which has gone into the compilation of some of the groups of material here described. Dr. Eames' studies of the writings of Captain John Smith and Amerigo Vespucci are each of them, in the scholarly difficulty of their compilation and in their value to the historian, easily the equivalent of a doctorial dissertation. And such important groups as Miss Elizabeth G. Greene's South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, and Virginia bibliographies and Miss Marjorie Watkins' "Treaties" are of the highest type of bibliographical scholarship.

The very difficult work done by the staff of the John Carter Brown Library in the letters *U* and *V*, with their preponderance of complicated seventeenth-century Latin, Spanish, and Dutch titles, and the fine work of Mr. Willard O. Waters in compiling the George Washington titles merit the highest praise. These are but random illustrations of the scholarly usefulness of the *Dictionary* and of the great service performed by its contributors. Surely the tool-makers are worthy of praise as well as the

skilled workmen who later erect enduring, scholarly edifices through the use of such tools as this.

The story of the growth and development of American bibliography may be clearly traced by a careful examination of the twenty-nine volumes of "Sabin." When, eighty years ago, Joseph Sabin began his ambitious and well-nigh foolhardy task of recording the entire literature of American history, he was working under a fearful handicap. Of course, he had a phenomenal memory for bibliographical details and had undoubtedly handled more rare and important American titles than anyone else of his generation. But there were not a half-dozen really good public collections of American historical books in the whole country in 1856, and most of the rare Americana was in a dozen or two private libraries, for the collecting of Americana had only begun. There were comparatively few bibliographical reference works for Sabin to use, and many of them were poorly arranged, woefully incomplete and inaccurate, and almost none of them gave the locations of copies. There were virtually no published catalogues of the great national libraries, and only a few author, subject, or regional bibliographies of any value.

The Sabin staff of recent years has been more fortunate. There have been dozens of co-operating libraries; many skilled librarians, bibliographers, and collectors have come to the rescue; and there are hundreds of valuable bibliographies to help locate and describe elusive rarities and supply necessary footnotes. The very richness of our resources has at times been an embarrassment, for a simple "Sabin" entry of two or three lines has sometimes been evolved only after many hours among scores of bibliographies, catalogues, and source books.

In compiling the recent volumes of "Sabin," we began with the 3×8-inch author and title slips inherited from Mr. Sabin and Dr. Eames. Many of them were clippings from unidentified auction, dealers', or library catalogues, some were

actual title-pages taken from imperfect books, others were manuscript notes of volumes examined in days gone by, and still others were mere cryptic references of a word or two which took much ingenuity to interpret. In many cases these titles were incomplete and had to be verified from actual copies of the books, if such copies could be found. And it must be remembered that these original Sabin entries represented only a fraction of the titles eventually included in the *Dictionary*.

The next step was a thorough search of the catalogues of the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and the British Museum. Then the brief check lists sent by the many co-operating libraries were examined in order to find new titles and editions, and letters were written for complete descriptions of these new titles. If these sources failed, bibliographies, histories, and other reference works were consulted, and more letters had to be written to those who owned or might be expected to own such material. When full authors' names had been secured (no small task), the entries were typed in duplicate on $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$-inch slips and filed.

While three of the staff were compiling a given block of material in the quarters generously provided for them by the New York Public Library, two other assistants were at work on a later part of the alphabet at the American Antiquarian Society, Harvard, or in the Boston libraries, with headquarters in the former library and later at Harvard. Their completed titles were then sent to the staff in New York for further addition and revision. In the meantime other paid or volunteer assistants were at work in Philadelphia and Washington, and a constant correspondence was necessary with libraries throughout this country and occasionally with those in Europe.

When the titles, collations, and notes were completed, the locations of copies were added from library check lists and bibliographies. Then the work of each assistant was twice checked by the assistant editors, and the titles sent to the editor

for final revision. He made many changes and additions and not infrequently discarded unimportant titles. Then he added the page numbers and the serial numbers and sent the copy to the printer in batches of several hundred titles at a time.

When the titles were in type, the galley proofs were read by the printer, the editor, and the assistant editor, and last-minute entries inserted from the letters and check lists of belated correspondents. In some cases, additional sets of galley proofs were sent for further revision to individual libraries or specialists, as in the case of the Yale College entries, which were generously proofread by the catalogue department of the University library and by the honorary curator of the special collection of Yale memorabilia. Finally, the page proofs were read by the printer and by the editor, who added the caption titles, supplied the copy for title-pages, dedications, and other preliminary leaves, and shortly thereafter another part was delivered to the subscribers.

This brief summary gives very little idea of the intricate detail of the task of compiling and editing "Sabin." The typed instructions prepared for the use of the staff fill fifteen single-spaced pages, but even a perusal of this outline of Sabin practice is inadequate to the proper understanding of the many difficulties.

The patience, accuracy, and devotion of the "Sabin" staff, always working under pressure and at top speed in order to finish the task before the appropriation should run out, is beyond praise. Of course, there are many mistakes in the *Dictionary*, for our sources of information were often incomplete and inaccurate, and we were frequently compelled to rely on the work of others when we could not examine the books ourselves. But all who use the *Dictionary* should remember with gratitude not only the wonderful work of Joseph Sabin and Dr. Wilberforce Eames who, between them, did more than half of the *Dictionary* almost singlehanded, but also the splendid

services of Elizabeth Grosvenor Greene, Marjorie Watkins, and the others who have spent devoted years of patient work behind the scenes so that historians, librarians, bibliographers, collectors, and booksellers might have available a reasonably accurate description of the more important books relating to America.

And we should not forget our patient and accurate printers, the printing-house of William Edwin Rudge and, later, the Southworth-Anthoensen Press, or the hundreds of librarians, cataloguers, scholars, and collectors who have searched their shelves and their notes in order to make our records more complete. "Sabin" is not the work of two or three individuals but is a great co-operative enterprise which never could have reached its present usefulness without the aid of hundreds of persons whose names and services were known only to the editorial staff.

Sabin is finished, and, as did the monks writing in their scriptoria during the Middle Ages, we have placed after the last entry of our manuscript a fervent "Laus Deo." On the title-page of each volume of "Sabin" you will find the following quotation from the Preface of Anthony à Wood's *History of Oxford* of 1674:

> A painfull work it is I'll assure you, and more than difficult, wherein what toyle hath been taken, as no man thinketh so no man believeth, but he hath made the triall.

And to those who find inconsistencies, errors, and omissions in the pages of this work of ours, I would quote a phrase from Foulkes Robartes' all-but-forgotten treatise: *The revenue of the Gospel is tythes* (Cambridge, 1613):

> Who faulteth not, liueth not; who mendeth faults is commended: The Printer hath faulted a little: it may be the author oversighted more. Thy paine (Reader) is the least; then erre not thou most by misconstruing or sharpe censuring; least thou be more vncharitable, then either of them hath been heedlesse: God amend and guide vs all.

AN IDENTIFICATION OF THE "GENTLEMAN OF VIRGINIA"*

By Harold Lester Dean

IN THE issue of the *Virginia gazette* for October 15, 1736, William Parks advertised the publication of a small volume entitled *Poems on several occasions*. The poems were issued anonymously, the author being identified merely as "a gentleman of Virginia." Though two copies of the edition may be extant, only one is now accessible, and that, bearing the signature of George Washington, is in the Boston Athenaeum. In 1920 Mr. Earl G. Swem edited a reprint of the poems for "Heartman's Historical Series," and again in 1930 an edition was prepared by Mr. Ralph L. Rusk for the Facsimile Text Society. Neither Mr. Swem nor Mr. Rusk suggested an identification of the author of the verses. The purpose of this paper is to make an attempt at such an identification.

The poems furnish no clue to the author's identity, but they do supply good evidence that they are to be connected with England rather than with Virginia. In the poem entitled "Hymn to the morning," for instance, the author describes the English daisy in speaking of its "dwarfy Bloom." "Philomela's parting Lay" refers, of course, to the nightingale. The poem entitled "To Mr.—— at London" mentions "Augusta's lofty Spires," "WINDSOR'S GREEN RETREATS" and "the crowded Mall." The allusions to Oxford in the same poem leave no doubt that the author had been, if he was not at the time of writing, a student at Oxford. "On the corruptions of the stage"

* Read, June 23, 1937, at a meeting of the Society in New York City.

affords even more convincing proof that the author had lived long in England. As the title indicates, the theme of these verses has to do with the degeneracy of the English drama, which was corrupted by the influences of the Italian opera and of the French tumblers. But at last, after "*Shakespeare, Row,* and all those Sons of Fame," had been displanted by "foreign Trifling,"

> We turn to downright Nonesense of our own,

the poet wrote, mentioning in particular Macheath of *The beggar's opera.* All these allusions, and others which have not been referred to, might of course have been mere literary reminiscences, and, as we know from William Byrd's *A progress to the mines*, a copy of *The beggar's opera* had reached Virginia by 1732.[1] But taken in the aggregate, the references to the English scene make it necessary to insist that the author of the poems had lived in England for many years and perhaps had written most if not all of his verses there.

Another lead in the identification of our poet is to be found in the *Virginia gazette*, where a poem entitled "To a Lady. On a Screen of her Working" appeared in the issue for December 10, 1736, two months after *Poems on several occasions* was published. The poem was preceded by the caption: "The following lines were wrote by a Gentleman of Virginia." This pen name might have been assumed by two individuals; that possibility was noted by Mr. Armistead C. Gordon in *Virginia writers of fugitive verse*,[2] but he went on to compare the poem with those of the volume without further questioning its authorship. Nor are there any grounds for assuming that this designation of the author was used in order to distinguish a poem of local origin from other verses printed in the *Virginia gazette.* On the contrary, out of the nearly two hundred ex-

[1] John Spencer Bassett, *The writings of Colonel William Byrd* (New York, 1901), pp. 341–42.

[2] Armistead C. Gordon, *Virginia writers of fugitive verse* (New York, 1923), pp. 44–45.

amples of poems printed in that periodical during the first three years of its existence, approximately one-quarter of them almost certainly were written by the colonists; and in none of them was the author identified in just this fashion. Usually, if the writer's name or initials did not appear with the poem, his identity, as was commonly the case, lay concealed beneath some fanciful pen name.

The attribution in the *Gazette* to "a Gentleman of Virginia" of the poem entitled "To a Lady. On a Screen of her Working" makes it reasonably certain that the author of this poem was also the author of the volume published by Parks in October, 1736. Under these circumstances, it is with a sense of discovery that one finds the same poem appearing in the *London magazine* for December, 1736. There it is printed over the name of William Dawson, a well-known resident of Virginia, then professor of moral philosophy at William and Mary College and later its second president. Furthermore, the facts of the previous life of this individual support the theory of residence in England already deduced from the poems themselves. Professor William Dawson was the son of William Dawson of Aspatria, Cumberland County, England. He matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in March, 1720, at the age of fifteen;[3] in 1728 he took the degree of Master of Arts and sometime in 1729 became professor of moral philosophy at William and Mary College. Other evidence in favor of this identification is to be found in a note in the *Virginia magazine of history and biography* for 1903–4,[4] where a contributor stated: "Not long since some one told the writer of another copy of these poems, which had on its title page a name written in such a position as to indicate that it was intended for the author. . . . . All the details have been forgotten except that the name was that of a professor of William and Mary College." In her discussion of

[3] Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* (8 vols.).

[4] *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, XI (1903–4), 211–12.

these poems, Mrs. E. C. Cook also attributed the volume to a professor of the college, adding in a note that a private letter in the possession of Mr. William G. Stanard, of the Virginia Historical Society, was the source of this information.[5] The present discovery, therefore, confirms definitely these previous attributions to a professor of William and Mary College and goes beyond them in giving a name to the professor in question.

There is another problem in connection with Dawson, and that is to determine the relation of the poems published in Virginia to the works entered in the *British Museum catalogue* after the name William Dawson, poet. First, there is *The atheist, a philosophical poem; representing and confuting the arguments brought in favour of their tenets* (London, 1723). The second entry is: *Miscellaneous poems on several occasions. To which are added, a letter of the late Bp. A-t-r-b-y's* [Atterbury] *to Mr. P-p-e* [Pope], *and a copy of verses spoke extempore by Dean Swift, upon his curate's complaint of hard duty* (London: J. Roberts, 1735). To these works must be added another not entered in the catalogue: *The British swain in five pastorals. To which are added some miscellaneous poems, design'd as a specimen of a larger work* (London: J. Noon, 1724).

At present there is no proof available that the William Dawson of Virginia was the author of these three works. Such evidence as there is, however, points in that direction. A search of the *Alumni Oxonienses* and of the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* reveals no other William Dawson at either university to whom these poems can be attributed. Hearne's Diary makes no mention of such a man; nor do the *London magazine* and the *Gentleman's magazine* offer a clue. I have not seen *The atheist*, but in the other two London publications and in the Virginia poems a certain similarity of theme and treatment indicates identical authorship. Even the differences are those which might well

[5] E. C. Cook, *Literary influences in Colonial newspapers, 1704–50* (New York, 1912), pp. 213–14.

appear in the work of one man writing at different periods. "The following Pieces are the casual Productions of Youth," the author wrote in the preface to the verses which Parks published, and there is little reason for doubting that the statement generally applies. The pervading tone of the Virginia volume suggests that the poems were written by a student immersed in academic life, for in theme and execution they are literary exercises arising out of the direct imitation of the classics. Where the poet was not imitating classical authors, as happened on one occasion, he was copying English poets. The "Hymn to the morning" was inspired by both Milton and Thompson, and though it consequently must be dated after 1726, when Thompson's "Winter," the first of *The seasons* appeared, our poet's imitation is certainly youthful work. "On the corruptions of the stage" most certainly belongs later than the other poems, perhaps shortly after *The beggar's opera* was first produced in 1728. Indeed, this poem and the one addressed to a friend in Cornwall seem to belong somewhat outside the period of the other work in the volume; but, aside from these two verses, there is little which suggests maturity in the poems.

On the other hand, the *Miscellaneous poems* of 1735 manifests the expanding margins of a maturer life. Many of the poems are less imitative in theme. Except for one example of the Virgilian pastoral, classical subjects have almost entirely disappeared. Also, some of the poems evince a greater thoughtfulness. "No true felicity below," for instance, affirms the ephemeral nature of all happiness not found in God. The poem entitled "Written in a book at a school where some young gentlemen had copied their poetical exercises" bears every mark of having been written by a mature individual who has watched the ineptitude with which students try to compose verses, and may well have found its inspiration in the writer's experiences as a teacher. Certain poems have a humorous

character. "The mock duel," for example, is an excellent characterization of two swaggerers. Furthermore, though there are a number of poems which, like those in the Parks publication, voice an abject surrender to love, others adopt a critical attitude toward certain types of women. Yet, in both the London and the Virginia volumes the versification is equally skilful.

But if maturity explains the greater variety of themes, it does not account for other differences. It does not explain why the poet's muse never again soared to the height it reached in the following lines from "To Sylvia, on approach of winter" in the book published by Parks:

> Come, my *Silvia*, come away;
> Youth and Beauty will not stay;
> Let's enjoy the present now.
> Heark, tempestuous Winter's roar,
> How it blusters at the Door,
> Charg'd with Frosts, and Storms, and Snow.

There was a pronounced lyrical strain running throughout the *Poems by a gentleman of Virginia*, and it is difficult to see why—if we assume that he was the author of the London volume—that strain did not develop further in that work, provided it really represents a later period.

The relationship of these two volumes is further complicated by the presence in the *Miscellaneous poems* of 1735 of the poems in *The British swain* of 1724. These verses, as the title of the book stated, were published as a specimen of a larger work which the author designed to bring out at some later date. That later work must be the 1735 volume, the publication of which was postponed longer than the author had intended. When it finally was issued, the miscellaneous poems of the 1724 group were reprinted after having been improved by the deletion of certain lines and whole stanzas. Such deletion is easy to understand; more difficult is it to explain how the mystery of a baby's birth and development came to interest the author of

"The infant," which was published for the first time when Dawson was nineteen. Probably other early poems were improved when they came to be printed in 1735, but one at least, an imitation of the more unpleasant features of Swift's "The lady's dressing room," first published in 1732, was certainly a late work. That fact does not help to solve the problem, but it does help to support the view that some of the verses published in 1735 were the work of a later period. If such was the case, it is possible that the poems reprinted in 1735 from the 1724 group were originally a part of the youthful verses which Parks published in 1736 after Dawson or the London printer had excluded them in making up the *Miscellaneous poems*. That Septimia, the poet's favorite name for his love in the 1735 volume, occurs only once in 1724, and is given over entirely for Sylvia in the 1736 volume, may or may not have significance. So far as versification is concerned, either name was equally feasible, and such poetic names were only too frequent in eighteenth-century poetry.

It has already been pointed out that the verses in *Poems on several occasions* were most probably not written in Virginia. The connection of the 1735 volume with England is not so obvious. Any of the verses in the *Miscellaneous poems* might just as well have been written by an Englishman in the colonies. And some corroborative evidence for the view that the author was not on hand at the time of its publication is present in the volume. The miscellaneous character of the material not by our poet is only partially indicated on the title-page of the 1735 work. Besides the prose letter to Pope by Bishop Atterbury, there are two Swift items, and, among other things, a poem on the Prince and Princess of Orange. These verses had appeared in the periodicals just prior to the publication of the book, which was entered in the December book lists of the magazines for 1734. Other heterogeneous material was added in the form of prologues dated 1722 and 1723, besides verses addressed to

Mr. Frances Peck in praise of his *Antiquities of Stamford.* In adding this material to fill up space, the printer could just as well have disregarded the wishes of the author if he had objected to such violation of his vanity and self-esteem. Other miscellanies carried such diversified matter. But in this case the added material was obviously designed to catch the current fancy of the public and possibly was included without the knowledge of the author.

William Parks had every reason for encouraging Dawson to bring out a volume of poems. Parks was undoubtedly interested in advancing literature in the colony, and Dawson was already an important personage in Williamsburg. As early as 1732 he was writing to the Bishop of London to give an account of the opening of the new chapel and of the proposed building to be erected for the president's residence at the college. He had also been elected to ask His Lordship's approval for spending part of the Brasserton money derived from the grant made by Robert Boyle for the purpose of establishing a library at the college.[6] That Dawson was performing a duty which belonged to the president indicates that he was already taking over some of President Blair's work. The position that he occupied is set forth by James Blair, nephew of the president and commissary, in a letter to the Bishop of London dated May 25, 1743, a few weeks after Dr. Blair's death. In urging Dawson's appointment as commissary in place of Dr. Blair, he added this account of the latter's last illness:

> Mr. Dawson attended him frequently and gave him the sacrement, and Mr. Commissary, not doubting but that he would be chosen President, more than once earnestly recommended to him to be careful of the youth of the college, that they might be well instructed in the doctrine of the church of England, and added in my hearing, that he hoped he would be appointed Commissary too, though he said at the same time your Lordship had not signified anything to him of that matter; but the Commissary had been witness of his behaviour for many years, for he had got him to assist him in his

[6] Fulham MSS, Library of Congress Transcripts, First Virginia Box, No. 168.

church soon after his coming to this country and had been his constant hearer for some years, while to the general satisfaction of all the Parish he assisted him as his curate, when his voice began to fail, till about 19 months ago. Then he accepted of the neighboring Parish of Jamestown upon the death of the then incumbent, a parish which the Commissary had served for many years after his coming to this place to attend the business of the college. . . . .[7]

In England, Dawson's character and ability early won him the attention of important people. It was at the request of Philip Ludwell for a professor of moral philosophy that Dawson was sent to Virginia by the ecclesiastical authorities. Dawson wrote the Bishop of London:

After nine Years, and more spent at Queen's in Oxford, and being put in Orders of Deacon and Priest by Dr. Potter, then Bishop of that Diocese, His Lordship did me the Honour to recommend me to Archbishop Wake, our most Reverend Chancellor at that Time who was pleased to send me hither to perform the Office of a College Tutor.[8]

The impression that Dawson left at Queen's College in 1728 had been of such a nature that in January, 1733, he was elected to a fellowship there,[9] and in the Long Roll entries of £3 for 1733–34 and 20*s*. for 1734–35 appear against his name as salary for his fellowship.[10] Perhaps these sums were paid to Dawson in order to encourage his return.[11] By this time Dawson may have married Mary Randolph Stith and in consequence was not able to accept the election; but even under other conditions it is probable that he would have felt that his work in the colony warranted his remaining there. At any rate, in a letter to the Bishop of London dated June 2, 1740, he mentioned his election at Queen's, adding, "Yet I have settled in this country where I thought my mite would be more usefully bestowed."[12]

[7] *William and Mary College quarterly magazine*, IX (1st ser.), 224–25.

[8] Fulham MSS, No. 184.

[9] J. R. Magrath, *The Queen's College* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1921), II, 314. [10] *Ibid.*, n. 6.

[11] I am indebted to Professor E. J. Knapton, of Wheaton College, for this suggestion and also for calling my attention to the source of this information.

[12] *William and Mary quarterly*, IX (1st ser.), 223.

In the colony Governor Gooch was Dawson's attentive supporter. "He is a very good Man, sober, modest, and truly Religious," the governor wrote a year after Dawson arrived in Virginia,[13] and several years before Blair's death he began to advocate Dawson's appointment as commissary. In a letter dated May 21, 1739, he wrote to the Bishop of London:

> I don't intend to make any Reflections, when I tell Your Lordship our Prospect is to have, when the time comes, that office (Commissary) well executed, nor do I pretend to lay any stress upon a recommendation supported by the wishes of the best men in the country, because my meaning, My Lord, is rather to keep out, than to put in, But if we might be allowed to name our Philosophy Professor—Mr. Dawson is the Man. This Professor, My Lord, is a thorough Scholar, a good Christian, and Orthodox Preacher, in his Behaviour as much a gentleman as we anywhere meet with, and in all respects fitted for Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and in short my Lord such a one as I am satisfied your Lordship earnestly desires the Church Officer should approve himself, who is to supply Your Lordships Place in so remote a part of your Lordships Diocese. He is well allied here by marrying a niece of the late Sir John Randolph, one of the best Familys in the Country, and I make no question on the first occasion after the Commissarys Death he will be unanimously elected President of the College and have his Parish. . . . .[14]

Mrs. Helen Bullock, archivist in the Department of Research and Education, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, has kindly furnished me with transcripts of the governor's letters to his brother, the Bishop of Norwich, which show that Governor Gooch was putting all the pressure he could bring to bear upon the ecclesiastical authorities to permit Dawson to receive the degree of Doctor of Divinity by diploma, so that with the added prestige he would be able to exercise his authority as commissary with more power. For some reason the Archbishop of Canterbury, then John Potter, who as Bishop of Oxford had been instrumental in sending Dawson to Virginia, was opposed to granting the degree by diploma, raising scruples over Dawson's taking the oath to the Articles of the church. In the eighth

[13] *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, XXXII, 233.

[14] *William and Mary quarterly*, IX (1st ser.), 222.

volume of the *William and Mary quarterly*,[15] however, is printed the recommendation from the chancellor of the university, then the Earl of Arran, to the vice-chancellor for granting the degree, which was issued in February, 1747.

Documents among the Dawson Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress reveal that Dawson was an energetic and able administrator, both in the affairs of the college and in those of the church. He also was an extensive purchaser of books, and a letter from Henry Dodd, his London book agent, shows that in 1751 Dawson had written an order for "curious Prints of best Engravers from most eminent Masters." Other documents show that he took an important part in the social affairs of the colony and also led in the charitable enterprises of the college and church. It is evident that his personality won the approval of discerning people. His tastes in literature were as fine as those of any of his contemporaries in England. Though the poetry that we assume to be his was at best merely second rate, it exhibited skilful handling of meter and often was considerably superior to the work of Englishmen who received some acclaim. Certainly it does not equal Markland's *Typographia*, but that is because its author seldom really had anything to say. Nevertheless, imitative as it is, his verse has a charm of its own, is better than much of the poetry turned out in Colonial times, and warrants the attention of students of American literature.

[15] VIII (1st ser.), 271–72.

THE WILLIAMSBURG PAPER MILL OF WILLIAM PARKS THE PRINTER*

By Rutherfoord Goodwin
Director, Department of Education, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated

I TRUST that I may be forgiven a sentimental approach to what is to me a sentimental subject—the memory of the printer, William Parks, and the consideration of the paper mill which he built and operated during the middle years of the eighteenth century at Williamsburg in the Virginia colony.

Sentiment, nicely balanced between sheer emotion and strict practicalness, has been a major, if elusive, factor in the development of the colony and commonwealth of Virginia almost from its first beginnings. It is a quality which has pervaded Virginia's peaceful years and has marked her in her times of stress. It is a quality which her own historians have known and, in accuracy, have sought to express—for which more and less successful efforts they and their works have at times been roundly damned. And so in this day of the scientific historian and the exacting scholar—when the past of many sections is often measured with a rule which affords no calculation of climate, condition, emotion, or tradition—I venture to express my humble, if enthusiastic, belief that he who would approach the history of Virginia and has not sentiment is "become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."

Indeed in the case of the Parks paper mill the sentimental

* Read, June 23, 1937, at a meeting of the Society held in New York City.

approach is especially indicated—for, were we to consider its output with that of ancient English mills or of contemporary mills of Pennsylvania and New England on a basis of strict and unqualified comparative merit, then we should be faced at the outset with the fact that the paper produced by Mr. Parks did not and does not compare favorably in certain respects with the fine papers of his times. On the other hand, if we weigh the worthy objects by which Mr. Parks was certainly to some degree inspired and the tremendous difficulties under which he labored—then are we led to marvel that he was able to produce paper of any satisfactory sort whatever and, further, that much of his paper remains today after the lapse of two centuries to testify to his ingeniousness and industry.

An indication of the justice of this statement may be found in the fact that paper mills have continued to line and yet crowd the banks of the sparkling trout streams on which papermaking was first attempted in the English colonies to the northward; whereas the site of Parks's mill in Virginia has for long years held only a brave and failing memory beside a brackish swamp, where sleep the lazy catfish and the carp. The mill established by William Parks was the first and, so far as we definitely know, the only paper mill in Colonial Virginia. Even today there are no paper mills within fifty miles of Williamsburg—and those at that or greater distance are equipped with modern settling tanks and filters of a sort which were likely not available to Mr. Parks. Yet, for at least six years his mill produced much of the paper to which he intrusted his own printing, and large quantities of paper which proved not only acceptable but probably most welcome to such eminent printers in the northern colonies as Christopher Sauer, William Bradford, and Benjamin Franklin. It is small wonder, then, that in 1744 Mr. Parks gained from a Virginia poet the designation "that gen'rous Patriot" for his pains—nor is a "gen'rous Patriot" in 1744 to be passed over lightly.

Of William Parks, the publisher and printer, much is known and recorded. Dr. Earl G. Swem, librarian of the College of William and Mary and vice-president of the Bibliographical Society of America, has pioneered in this field, as has Lawrence C. Wroth, who in his book *William Parks, printer and journalist of England and Colonial America* has given us much of what we know. We are further indebted to Douglas C. McMurtrie, who has written more recently and at some length on *The beginnings of printing in Virginia.* Of the *Virginia gazette*, which was founded by Parks at Williamsburg in 1736, much is known—owing to the untiring endeavors of Clarence S. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society, and of other scholars in this field.

Mr. Wroth has written of Mr. Parks as the "Nurse of literature and father of journalism in Maryland and Virginia" and also as "The man of affairs"; he has stated his belief that "Franklin alone excepted there was no printer of his place and period whose service was greater or more distinctive in character than that rendered to the colonies of Maryland and Virginia by this pioneer printer." In these statements we of Williamsburg heartily concur, for in our natural and our professional mood of retrospect we, too, know Parks as printer, publisher, journalist, bookbinder, bookseller, stationer, and man of business; we know him as a friendly and respected, if ghostly, figure in our streets; as the protégé of his excellency, Lieutenant-Governor William Gooch; as a church warden of Bruton Parish, and as an alderman of the city of Williamsburg. Following our inherent genealogical bent, we know him too as the grandfather-in-law of Patrick Henry.

Yet, the story of Parks, the papermaker, is but little known and less mentioned. It is our belief that, in so far as our modern times and published information go, it was not until 1935 that a product of his mill was recognized and certain of his marks identified. We believe that much additional time and further

careful investigation will be required before this story is pieced out to its attainable limits.

In his *Present state of Virginia*, published in England in 1724, the Reverend Hugh Jones, Williamsburg's first and one of its few historians, wrote:

> Paper-Mills I believe would answer well there; for there are good Runs of Water with Timber *for nothing* for building them, and I am sure the *Negroes* would supply them with Rags enough for Trifles; to which add the Advantage of Water Carriage; these need not interfere with the English Paper-Mills, but only supply us with such Quantities of Paper, as we buy from foreign Countries.

From this it would appear that the Reverend Mr. Jones either was unversed in ideal conditions for papermaking or was no admirer of the clean white sheet. It would seem, moreover, that he did not weigh the difficulties of collecting rags in a colony which was almost devoid of towns and in which the population was widely dispersed; nor the consideration that clothing was often so scarce with the negroes that many of them, when run away, were taken up "quite naked." On the other hand, the learned and friendly Mr. Jones could hardly have foreseen and would have been offended to know that the time was fast approaching when the mills in America would become all too anxious to "interfere with the English Paper-Mills." An evidence of this tendency is found in the establishment of William Parks's mill at Williamsburg some twenty years later.

The date at which the Parks mill began operations is, I believe, unknown. Most of those who have written on the subject have been content to date its beginning from a remarkable poem entitled "The paper mill" (a copy of which is appended to this paper)[1] which was inscribed to Mr. Parks and appeared in the *Virginia gazette* for July 26, 1744. George Simpson Eddy, who, in his notes on *Account books kept by Benjamin Franklin, Ledger "D" 1739–1747*, has considered the Parks mill more

[1] *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, VII, 442–44.

thoroughly than other writers on the subject, indicates most convincingly that in answer to an advertisement placed by Parks in the *Pennsylvania gazette* for September 23, 1742, one Johan Conrad Sheets (or Shütz), a papermaker, went from Pennsylvania to Williamsburg, together with certain carpenters, to build there "a good Paper-Mill"—the transaction being handled through the offices of Benjamin Franklin.

Indeed, the Franklin accounts and Mr. Eddy's notes give evidence that the Williamsburg mill was largely equipped from purchases made through Franklin and for which Franklin advanced the funds—included are payments made to "the papermaker's wife" in his absence, payments made "the mold maker" (probably for two sets of molds), payments made "for 2 doz. hair cloths" which were doubtless employed as drying felts. These interesting records further indicate that Sheets (or Shütz) had returned to Pennsylvania by March 2, 1744, probably leaving the mill in the hands of workmen he had trained; they show that in September of that year Franklin credited Parks's account with £55/12/9 for a delivery of paper—the reasonable conclusion being that it was the product of his new mill. Thus, in the absence of specific evidences to the contrary, the popular assumption that the Parks mill began operation in 1744 seems justified. The earliest example of Parks's paper which is known to us at this time is represented by a copy of the *Virginia gazette* dated August 28, 1746, in the possession of the William L. Clements Library—but this knowledge does not result from an exhaustive search, and it is more than probable that earlier examples will be forthcoming, conceivably bearing dates earlier than that of the poem of July 26, 1744.

The exact location of the Parks mill at or near the city of Williamsburg is also a matter of some conjecture. Most statements on this point are traceable to the late and revered Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, who in his *Williamsburg the old Colonial capital* of 1907 states: "In 1744 William Parks erected a paper mill on

a branch of Archer's Hope Creek behind the present hospital for the insane." Whether Dr. Tyler, in making this statement, drew on some definite record encountered in his vast and long experience, or whether he based it upon the very strong presumptive case which may yet be made in support of it, is not known. In the absence of a specific available record, we will say that every present indication leads to the supposition that Dr. Tyler was correct:

1. The absence of recordation of this property in York County to the north of Williamsburg would indicate that the mill was situated in James City County to the south of Williamsburg, in which county the supposed site lies.[2] The court records for James City County were lamentably destroyed during the War between the States.

2. The branch of Archer's Hope Creek indicated by Dr. Tyler is yet known to certain of the older inhabitants of the city as "Paper Mill Creek," and such inhabitants are familiar with the remains of an ancient dam or causeway which once crossed this branch just at the head of tidewater.

3. The invaluable "Frenchman's Map" of 1782, now in the possession of the library of the College of William and Mary, gives the name of the street and road which led and yet leads to the site as "Mill Street." Moreover, the "Frenchman" clearly indicates a windmill very close to the supposed site—and, while it is neither known nor indicated that the power for Parks's macerating mill was secured from the wind, the use of windmills for such purposes was by no means unknown in papermaking at the time. Furthermore, those familiar with the site

[2] The line dividing the counties of York and James City ran an irregular east and west course through the city of Williamsburg throughout the Colonial period. City or county properties to the north of the line were recorded in York County and those to the south of it were recorded in James City County. For example, Parks's will and the report of his executor are recorded in York County, his printing office and, probably, his residence having been located to the north of the line.

have long wondered that sufficient power could have been developed from the stream to operate a mill of any description.

4. The supposed site is readily accessible from what was known as Princess Anne Port, then situated near by on the creek proper, and thus had convenient the desirable "water carriage" prescribed by the Reverend Hugh Jones. Such transportation was essential both to the export of paper and to the import of the rags which Mr. Parks is known to have purchased in generous quantities from Benjamin Franklin[3] and may well have purchased from others.

5. It should be further noted that, although better sites for papermaking undoubtedly existed in James City County, these for the most part fell within the limits of the great plantations by which the city of Williamsburg was largely surrounded, and were likely not available therefore to one of Mr. Parks's comparatively limited means.

6. Finally, and though it may be in the nature of a poetic observation, I would say that, now that the identity of Mr. Parks's paper is known, the dark red-brown waters of Archer's Hope Creek are today strangely remindful of the peculiar red-brown color cast which all but invariably characterizes this paper and which unquestionably characterized it before the stains of age became so pronounced. As to this last it should be noted that it is conceivable that an appreciable quantity of sea salt (which would have been present if water from the creek was employed for forming sheets before the erection of the dam) would suggest an explanation for the peculiar susceptibility which much of the Parks paper has to moisture and to stains developing principally from moisture.

The duration of operations at the Parks mill at Willamsburg is also an inexact quantity. Dr. Tyler expresses the belief that it was operating as late as 1770. He is followed in this belief

[3] George Simpson Eddy, *Account books kept by Benjamin Franklin, Ledger "D" 1739–1747* (New York, 1929), p. 99.

by L. H. Weeks, who, in his *History of paper-manufacturing in the United States*, appears to hinge the intimation upon a statement made by Governor Gooch—but Gooch died in England in 1751. The latest specific contemporary mention of the mill of which we know appears in the report of the acting executor of the estate of William Parks, which is contained in the records for York County for 1752, Parks having died in 1750. In this report the acting executor, John Shelton, shows "£96/3/9 By the sale of the paper Mill do. [taken by execution]." This amount, a substantial consideration in its time, would indicate in itself that the mill continued in operation for some years. The latest example of paper from the mill which we have seen is that contained in the edition of Christopher Sauer's famous Bible issued in 1763, in which edition the Parks paper was used in generous quantities. It is interesting to note that Parks's marks continued to appear in publications issued in distant colonies thirteen years after his death, and it is highly probable that further investigation will extend this period and suggest the continued operation of the mill even beyond the year 1770. It is quite possible, for example, that the molds carrying the Parks watermarks were in time replaced with plain molds or molds carrying other marks and that these may be identified with the mill. Indeed, if the supposed site is accepted and if the windmill theory is given some credence, then the "Frenchman's Map" would indicate the existence of at least that portion of the mill as late as 1782.[4]

At all events, continued research may yet divulge the exact location of the mill, and careful archeological investigation may then reveal the true nature and mechanics of this unique enterprise in Colonial Virginia. The continued study of the products

[4] The theory that the Parks mill continued in operation after his death, though defensible, is wholly conjectural. If the theory is discarded, however, it must be assumed that substantial supplies of the paper from his mill were stored or became available in several localities some years after his death.

of the mill may cast additional light upon both of these subjects, as well as upon matters of date and duration.

To turn our thoughts to more recent times, I should explain that William Parks, the first Virginia printer and the first papermaker known to have operated south of Pennsylvania, is of peculiar and especial interest to Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, which organization under the gracious and generous sponsorship of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has for the last ten years directed the careful restoration of certain large portions of Colonial Williamsburg. A high standard of authenticity has been set. The purpose has been to restore and retain the buildings, homes, and gardens which have survived from ancient times, and to replace many of the interesting examples which had disappeared. In these latter cases the endeavor has been to reconstruct buildings and gardens to appear as they appeared to those who built the originals, in the thought that time is the most successful of aging agencies.

In 1935 I had the privilege of writing for Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, and of collaborating with those eminent Virginia printers, August Dietz, Sr., and August Dietz, Jr., of Richmond, in the making of a book[5] which we felt would express to some degree the history of the city of Williamsburg and the nature of the restoration project in progress there. Naturally, the mood of Mr. Parks was sought and pursued even to a point at which it was decided that he would not have exerted himself to his utmost in connection with an inexpensive travel book in his time. In consequence, an unpretentious format was developed. The text was hand-set (with the exception of the Index) with some purposeful and, inevitably, some unintentional errors. The signatures were printed without makeready with an oily ink from actual and undefaced types. Failing to find within the reach of our budget a paper which resembled

[5] Rutherfoord Goodwin, *A brief and true report for the traveller concerning Williamsburg in Virginia* (Richmond, 1935).

what we imagined Parks's paper to have been, the manufacture of a special rag-content book paper was decided upon. At this time an extended search for paper produced by the Parks mill was instituted; but, owing to the peculiarities of watermarking which it is now known that this paper possessed, the search was unsuccessful. With the valued assistance and advice of William J. Barrow, an expert in the restoration of books and manuscripts, and of August Dietz, Jr., a paper was developed by the Standard Paper Manufacturing Company[6] of Richmond, which paper was by intent dark, rough, and "wild." Though this paper was admittedly slightly "bulky" and was made with an unwatermarked dandy roll which was designed for the manufacture of mimeograph paper, its color and texture would now seem most fortunate. It is interesting to note that this paper, developed on a wholly conjectural basis, has since the identification of the Parks paper proved so close a match for color that it has on occasions been employed as a color sample for indicating this feature of the original Parks production. The book in question was by no means a major achievement in bookmaking—but it was distinctly a major achievement at the price, which was designed to accommodate the purse of the general traveling public.

Even after the development of this book paper, the search for examples of Parks's own paper was continued. This search was handicapped by the scarcity of Parks's imprints within what we then supposed to be the period of the mill. Furthermore, copies of the *Virginia gazette* for this period, 1744–50, were both scarce and widely scattered. Perhaps the greatest obstacle, however, is now revealed to have been contained in the paper itself; for it now appears that Parks's molds were designed with *Gazette*-size sheets in mind. The marks were placed to fall

[6] The names of commercial organizations are mentioned in this paper in view of the fact that, owing to their interest both in the history of their crafts and in the Williamsburg restoration project, their contributions have been definitely greater than the financial returns to them would warrant.

symmetrically on the opposite leaves of the *Gazette* and, thus, as almost invariably happens in books of the period when such sheets were folded in quarto or octavo, the distinguishing watermarks disappeared into the folds or were defaced or effaced in trimming.

In 1936 we chanced to mention our quest to Mr. J. H. Dunton, of W. C. Hamilton and Sons, papermakers, of Miquon, Pennsylvania. Mr. Dunton, a gentleman possessed of sound Pennsylvania reticence, said nothing—but a few days later one full sheet of paper from the mill of William Parks represented by a trimmed quarto fold from the Sauer Bible of 1763 appeared in our offices at Williamsburg as a gift made to Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, through W. C. Hamilton and Sons, by Mr. James F. Magee, Jr., of Philadelphia, one of the outstanding experts in this country on the watermarks of early papermakers. It was the first recognized example of Parks's paper to be seen in Williamsburg in modern times, to the best of our knowledge.

It developed that Mr. C. W. Unger, of Pottsville, Pennsylvania, in studying a damaged copy of the 1763 edition of the Sauer Bible[7] and of Sauer's *New enlarged song book* (*Neue Vermehrt Gesang Buch*), also of 1763, had in 1935 come on two watermarks appearing always within the same signature—one being a symmetrical WP, surmounted by a crown; the other a nicely accomplished rendition of the old "Cote for Virginia" (coat-of-arms) which, allegedly, was granted to the London Company for Virginia by James I and which, with various heraldic alterations to fit the times, continued to be the arms of the Virginia colony until the Revolution. Mr. Unger sent the marks to Mr. Magee, together with a query which read in part:

> What in the world is this doing here in Pennsylvania, in the Saur books? The mark is rather plentiful although always obscure. Who was W.P.?

[7] The 1763 edition of the Sauer Bible contains a wide variety of paper from a number of different mills. The signature in question is composed of pp. 449–56.

Is it possible there was a paper mill in Virginia in touch with Saur? Was it made in England? It is crude enough to be decidedly American. Strange that Saur—a man of peace—should use as a device Cavaliers with sword and spear.

In short, Mr. Magee, with his usual precision, identified the marks as being those of William Parks of Williamsburg, and published them on his Christmas card for 1935. Mr. Dunton, learning of our interest, recalled Mr. Magee's card. And so it is that Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, acknowledges its grateful appreciation to Mr. Dunton, to Mr. Unger, and especially to Mr. Magee. It should be added that Mr. Magee in subsequent correspondence identified the paper as appearing also in William Stith's *History of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia*, Williamsburg, printed by William Parks, 1747; *American instructor*, Philadelphia, 1753, printed by Benjamin Franklin; and the *American magazine*, Philadelphia, December 1759, printed by William Bradford.

The loose quarto fold presented by Mr. Magee provided the necessary clue for locating the Parks paper in other imprints. The chain and laid marks, as well as the angle of trim, established this quarto to represent a single sheet of paper, roughly of *Gazette* size. When this large sheet had been folded to form the quarto, the WP mark and crown had disappeared completely into the fold as had the center portion of the larger mark representing the Virginia arms. Only the lower and upper portions of this larger mark might be discovered on opposite leaves of a bound volume—and these portions might only be seen with difficulty. It follows that, in the case of an octavo fold (as in the case of Stith's history), the smaller WP mark would be effaced or badly defaced in trimming, and that only a defaced quarter of the larger mark would appear on a single leaf—this portion being further effaced in the sewing. The usual fate of the marks in yet smaller volumes is, of course, variable.

Imperfectly formed sheets, varying weight, clogging of molds, bright spots, flaws, type impressions, and the stains and marks

of age, when added to the size, arrangement, and elaborateness of the marks themselves, add further to the obscurity of these distinguishing marks of the Parks paper. A New England paper manufacturer, for example, when given direction for locating the watermarks, reported that he had found "what would seem to be two men in underwear on either side of what appears to be a basket of fish." Indeed, imperfect examples of the larger of the two marks may well be confusing to those unfamiliar with the armored supporters, the crest, and motto of the old "Cote for Virginia."

The study of the Parks paper, beginning with the discovery of the quarto from the Sauer Bible, has led to the consideration of sheet sizes, and this, in turn, has led to the discovery and investigation of the several molds employed at the mill. Augmenting the information to be had from the Sauer Bible signature with dimensions secured from various other publications of varying form and date which appear on this paper, we have established the dimensions within the deckle of *one* of Parks's molds to have been very close to 52 by 42 centimeters. Such a sheet, folded in the center, would provide a *Gazette* size of 42 by 26 centimeters, with the WP mark falling roughly in the center of one leaf and the Virginia arms roughly centered in the other leaf. This size was arrived at by superimposing the watermarks from various imprints, one upon another, and by then adding an average allowance for trim to the dimensions thus established. For example, it was found by this process that a generous trim was taken the long way of the Sauer Bible quarto, whereas but little was trimmed from its ends.

In checking these dimensions with the early *Gazettes* in the possession of the William L. Clements Library, through the cooperation of its distinguished librarian, Randolph G. Adams, we found that certain early *Virginia gazettes* on file there were printed on paper made from yet another of Parks's molds. This mold would seem to have been smaller in size (roughly 41.5

cm. by 31.5 cm.) and is distinguished by the fact that the WP mark and crown were rather nicely embellished with a surrounding circle and what appear to be bent-wire efforts to indicate tobacco leaves. The larger mark also has certain distinguishing variations,[8] though, in general, it is quite similar to the mark to be found in the Sauer Bible. It is interesting that paper from this mold is employed for end sheets in the copy of the so-called London edition of 1753 of Stith's history in the library of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, though the volume itself, printed principally upon imported paper, contains signatures printed on paper from the larger Parks mold.

The evidence of yet another mold is to be found in the paper of *An explication of the shorter catechism*, by John Thomson, printed by William Parks in 1749. Here the WP mark appears without its surmounting crown and is balanced on the full sheet by a crowned shield inclosing a harp. That the Irish quarter from the arms of Virginia should be employed by Parks seems strange indeed—though it may possibly be explained as a special mark for a particular edition, in that the book in question contains "an extract of the Articles of the Church of Ireland, ... Agreed upon by the principal clergy of that kingdom, in the year 1615, in Dublin." Paper from this mold, which, so far as we now know, appears only in copies of this particular work, would seem to have been of medium size (roughly 45.7 cm. by 35.5 cm.) when compared with that from the other molds cited.

The possible value of the Parks paper to the bibliographer may be investigated and nicely tested in connection with William Stith's *History of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia*. Here its erratic appearances will tend, when carefully studied, to dissipate much of the confusion which has surrounded that work and, possibly, create some additional con-

[8] Notably, the motto "En Dat Virginia Quartam" does not appear beneath the arms.

fusion. Even so, it would seem to reduce the alleged number of editions from four to two. Such studies are often, as in this case, highly involved but may yield much valuable information. Certainly, in so far as the Parks paper is concerned, they have only begun.

Throughout the past year, since an example of the Parks paper first came to our attention, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, has worked toward the development of a special machine-made rag-content book paper adapted to the rather large requirements of its official publications. In keeping with its policy of local authenticity, effort has been made to produce as exact an imitation of the paper manufactured by William Parks as modern materials, methods, and machinery will permit. In further keeping with this policy, it is intended that this paper should, so far as possible, emulate the Parks paper in its original rather than its present condition. The fact that the initial requirement of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, was 180,000 pounds of paper should be cited as evidence that the otherwise desirable production of handmade, all-rag stock was in this case an obvious impossibility.

I am happy to report that the production of this paper was intrusted to W. C. Hamilton and Sons, the same Pennsylvania firm which provided us with our first example of Parks's paper. In the staff of that firm Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, has found collaborators who, while their machines produce more paper in a single day than could the Parks mill in all the years of its history, have a sound knowledge of the methods of their Colonial predecessors and a veneration for the traditions of their craft.

The color of the paper manufactured was arrived at after a careful study of a beautifully preserved copy of William Stith's *History of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia* from the Tower Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This volume was graciously made available for color-matching

and detailed study at the mill by Julian P. Boyd, librarian of the Society, and with the co-operation of J. Harcourt Givens, of the library staff of that Society. The paper in this volume carries the same marks and was undoubtedly made with the same mold employed in the manufacture of the Parks paper which appears in the 1763 Sauer Bible.

The dandy roll (the device employed for impressing laid and chain marks, and watermarks in machine-made paper) was made largely by hand by the Sinclair Company, of Holyoke, Massachusetts, under the personal supervision of its president, Mr. P. S. Sinclair. The watermarks were made individually in order that the mechanical preciseness of moldmade duplications might be avoided. The arrangement of these marks with respect to one another and to the chain marks, as well as the arrangement and gauge of the laid and chain marks, were carefully copied from the impressions made by the Parks molds. The "bleed" on either side of the chain marks was also carefully imitated. Thus, the dandy roll reproduces very nearly every detail and flaw to be found in the Parks molds and, it is believed, affords as exact a duplication as Parks's own moldmaker could have secured in matching one mold to another. It should be explained, however, that the dandy roll was designed and made with two specific problems in mind:

1. When used on a 102″ machine, the dandy roll will permit the most economical manufacturing conditions obtainable in connection with the two standard sheet sizes employed by Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated—25″×38″ and 32″×44″. When used in this fashion, the watermarks resulting will *not* localize within cut sheets or bound volumes as did marks from the Parks molds.

2. When used on a small 56″ machine with only its center section employed, the dandy roll can be used, in conjunction with fine adjustments of the cutting device, in producing *Gazette*-size sheets with the watermarks and chain marks pre-

cisely localized in keeping with our theoretical reconstruction of sheets from *one* of the Parks molds.

The paper thus far produced has been made on a 102″ machine with the full width of the dandy roll employed. This paper was produced under the supervision of H. H. Hanson, president, and Joseph H. Dunton, of W. C. Hamilton and Sons, and, again, with the advice of August Dietz, Jr., of Richmond. It has a 25 per cent rag base and contains a sizing material unlike any available to Parks. This was mixed in the beaters to gain a pronounced receptivity to ink and to type impressions. The desirable "wildness," or mottling, was sacrificed to a slight degree in the interest of securing a "one-sidedness" (even-sidedness) quite uncommon in machine-made papers run at economical machine speeds. The specks and spots, which characterized much of the paper from the Parks mill, are imitated somewhat successfully with the aid of ground flaxseed introduced into the beaters in generous quantities—to the horror of the employees of the mill. In deference to these employees, it should also be mentioned that they were by no means unmindful of numerous informalities and imperfections which would be considered flaws in modern papermaking, yet which, in this case, were permitted to go uncorrected.

Thus Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, has sought to memorialize William Parks, the *papermaker*, who in his own day was honored by the poet, Dumbleton, with the following verses:

THE PAPER MILL

Inscrib'd to Mr. Parks

In nova, fert Animis, mutates dicere formas,
Corpora.—Ovid

[From the *Virginia gazette*, July 26, 1744]

Tho' sage Philosophers have said,
Of nothing, can be nothing made:
Yet *much* thy Mill, O *Parks*, brings forth
From what we reckon *nothing worth.*
Hail kind *Machine!*—The Muse shall praise

Thy Labours, that receive her Lays.
Soon as the *Learn'd* denounce the War
From pratling Box, or wrangling Bar,
Straight, Pen and Paper range the Fight;
They meet, they close, in Black & White.
The Substances of what we think,
Tho' born in *Thought*, must live in *Ink*.
Whilst willing *Mem'ry* lends her Aid,
She finds herself by *Time* betray'd.
Nor can thy Name, Dear *Molly*, live
Without those Helps the Mill must give;
The Sheet now hastens to declare,
How lovely Thou, and—my Despair.
Unwitting Youths, whose Eyes or Breast,
Involve in Sighs, and spoil of Rest;
Unskill'd to say their piteous Case,
But miss the Girl for want of *Brass*,
May paint their Anguish on the Sheet;
For Paper cannot blush, I weet.
And *Phillis* (for Bissextile Year
Does only once in Four appear,
When Maids, in dread to lie alone
Have Leave to bid the men *come on*),
Each Day may write to lure the Youth
She longs to wed, or fool, or—both.
Ye *Brave*, whose Deeds shall vie with Time,
Whilst Mill can turn, or Poet rhime
Your Tatters hoard for future Quires;
So Need demands, so *Parks* desires.
(And long that gen'rous Patriot live
Who for soft Rags, hard Cash will give!)
'The Shirt, Cravat, the Cap, again
Shall meet your Hands, with *Mails* from *Spain;*
The *Surplice*, which, when whole or new,
With Pride the Sexton's Wife could view,
Tho' worn by Time and gone to rack,
It quits its Rev'rend Master's Back;
The same again the Priest may see
Bound up in Sacred Liturgy.
Ye *Fair*, renown'd in *Cupid's* Field,
Who fain would tell what Hearts you've killed;
Each Shift decay'd, lay by with Care;
Or Apron rubb'd to bits at—Pray'r,

One Shift ten Sonnets may contain,
To gild your Charms, and make you vain;
One Cap, a *Billet-doux* may shape,
As full of Whim, as when a Cap,
And modest 'Kerchiefs Sacred held
May sing the Breasts they once *conceal'd.*
Nice *Delia's* Smock, which, neat and whole,
No Man durst finger for his Soul;
Turn'd to *Gazette,* now all the Town,
May take it up, or smooth it down.
Whilst *Delia* may with it dispence,
And no Affront to Innocence.
The Bards, besure, their Aids will lend;
The Printer is the Poet's Friend;
Both cram the News, and stuff the Mills,
For Bards have Rags, and—little else.
Your humble Servant,

J. Dumbleton

Somehow a careful and repeated study of these lines has led this writer to the unescapable, if sentimental, belief that this poem was to the customary eighteenth-century advertising rhymes for rags very much what he believes the Parks mill to have been among its more practical Colonial contemporaries.[9]

NOTES ON THE PARKS WATERMARKS

It is important that the drawings of the Parks watermarks which accompany this paper should not prove misleading to those who will have occasion to pursue this study further.

These drawings are not presented in the belief that they represent all of the designs and devices employed by the Parks mill; nor is their presentation intended to indicate that all the paper from that mill bore a distinguishing watermark. It is quite probable that Parks and his successors used other marks as well and that some, if not much, of their paper was unwatermarked.

The arrangement of the drawings does not represent their respective locations on full *Gazette*-size sheets, save in that they appear at (rough-

[9] The poem is copied from the *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, VII, 442–44, because of the unavailability of the original copies of the *Virginia gazette* in which it appeared.

ly) the same level in such sheets, with the WP mark to the left. For example, in full sheets bearing marks 2*a* and 2*b*, the distance from the curl of the letter *P* of 2*a* to the shaft of the first spear of 2*b* is 19 centimeters. Thus, the size of this publication will not permit the reproduction of the marks in their true relative positions.

The citation of books and signatures and of periodicals and issues, in so far as paper content is concerned, is likely to become confusing, in that it would appear that Parks and his Colonial contemporaries were most informal in adapting their supplies of paper to the requirements of any given publication. In consequence, it would seem unwise to make definite statements with regard to paper content and placement without examining all known copies of an edition or issue.

DRAWINGS 1*a* AND 1*b*

These are full-size drawings, traced in part from the imperfect and generously trimmed end sheets of a copy of the so-called "London Edition" of William Stith's *History of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia: "Virginia*, Printed: *London*, Reprinted for S. Birt in Ave-Mary-Lane. M DCC LIII," in the possession of the library of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated. The drawings are reconstructions in so far as their center sections are concerned and, thus, may vary slightly from full marks from this mold to be found in other sources. (It is interesting that the Parks paper contained elsewhere and at intervals in this copy of the so-called "London Edition" bears the marks indicated by drawings 2*a* and 2*b*.) Marks 1*a* and 1*b* are also to be seen in the following early issues of the *Virginia gazette*, published and printed by William Parks at Williamsburg, now in the possession of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor:

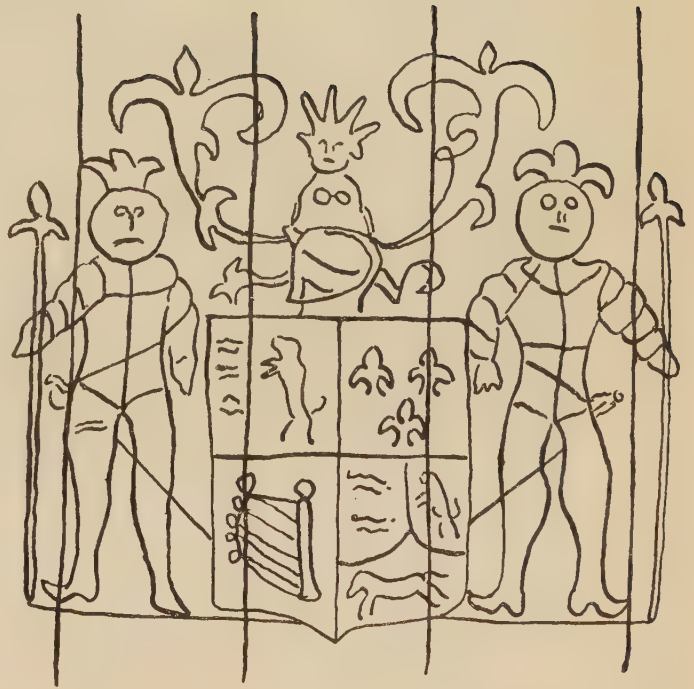
Virginia gazette No. 526 August 21–28, 1746
Virginia gazette No. 527 August 28—September 4, 1746
Virginia gazette No. 528 September 4–11, 1746

DRAWINGS 2*a* AND 2*b*

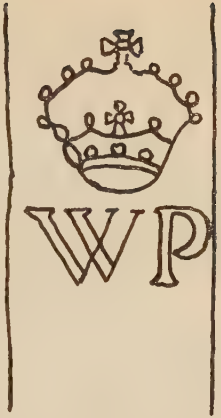
These are full-size drawings, made by tracing over blueprints of the full marks appearing on pages 449–56 from a damaged copy of the 1763 edition of the Sauer Bible. These pages are now in the possession of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated. Thus, the drawings may be accepted as being accurate in very nearly every detail. On the basis of studies made thus far, it appears that the mold bearing these marks

1*a*

1*b*

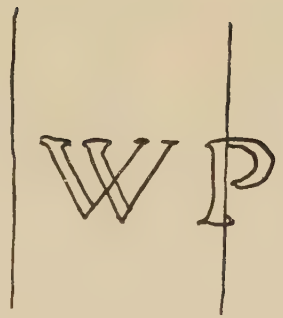


2a



2b

3a



3b

was used somewhat more frequently than the others represented herein. These are the marks which have been chosen and imitated by Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, for use in its special book paper. Examples have been seen in the following publications:

William Stith, *History of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia*, 1747, printed by William Parks, Williamsburg. Copy of Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Copy of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated.

William Stith, *History of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia*, 1753, so-called "London Edition" (believed by this writer to have been printed and bound by William Parks and his immediate successors at Williamsburg). Copy of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated.

American instructor, 1753, printed by Benjamin Franklin and D. Hall, Philadelphia. Copy of Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Virginia almanac for the year of our Lord God 1757, printed by William Hunter (successor to William Parks), Williamsburg. Copy of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated.

American magazine, 1759, printed by William Bradford, Philadelphia. Copy of Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Neue Vermehrt Gesang Buch, 1763, printed by Christopher Sauer, Germantown. Copy cited by C. W. Unger, of Pottsville, Pennsylvania.

Biblia, 1763, printed by Christopher Sauer, Germantown. Copy of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated. Loose quarto of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated.

DRAWINGS 3*a* AND 3*b*

These are full-size drawings, made by tracing over blueprints made from loose signatures from *An explication of the shorter catechism*, John Thomson, 1749, printed by William Parks, Williamsburg (copy of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated). Small portions of both marks are reconstructed to replace sections lost in a narrow trim. Examples from this mold have not as yet been seen elsewhere. It is interesting to note that the mark 3*b* is a true rendering of the Irish quarter from the arms of the Virginia colony, as distinguished from the royal arms of Great Britain, in that the harp appears within a crowned escutcheon. This distinguishing feature of the Virginia arms (as well as the central cross of St. George, a further distinguishing characteristic of the Virginia arms) was omitted from the marks represented by drawings 1*b* and 2*b*—probably to simplify those complex designs.

THE READING OF SHAKESPEARE IN COLONIAL AMERICA*

By Edwin Eliott Willoughby

THE first permanent English settlement in America was made at Jamestown in 1607 at the time of Shakespeare's greatest dramatic activity. Reports from this colony were perhaps woven into *The tempest*. The second settlement was founded at Plymouth in 1620, the year before the printing of Shakespeare's collected plays was begun. At the time that the colonists for these two settlements sailed, about one-half of Shakespeare's plays had been issued in small quarto pamphlets. Cheap and portable, they would have made excellent companions with which to while away the tedium of a long voyage. But if they formed part of the baggage of these first settlers, all trace of them has long been lost. This is not to be wondered at, for in a land where waste paper was both scarce and in demand for tinder and other uses small unbound pamphlets of trivial subject matter had but small chance of surviving.

There was, to be sure, a volume of nine quartos, printed by William Jaggard in 1619, but provided for the most part with false imprints and fictitious dates, containing ten plays, some by Shakespeare, some falsely ascribed to him, which Colonel Thomas M. Randolph, the son-in-law of Thomas Jefferson, gave to the University of Virginia. Lost during the burning of the library in 1895 and probably—but not certainly—destroyed, its

*Read, June 23, 1937, at a meeting of the Society held in New York City.

history forms one of the great enigmas of American bibliography,[1] but there is no reason to suppose that this volume was an early importation into the colonies.

Again, the founder of one of the later colonies had in the library of his boyhood home at least two of these Shakespearean quartos. In copies of the First Quarto of *2 Henry IV* (1600) and of the Fourth Quarto of *Richard III* (1605) appear the autographs of Sir William Penn, the admiral and father of the founder of Pennsylvania.[2] But there is no evidence that Penn brought any of these pamphlets with him to his Quaker colony.

In 1623 was published the collected *Comedies, histories & tragedies* of Shakespeare, a folio volume likely to be bound and preserved. The demand for Shakespeare was of such strength during the seventeenth century that to satisfy it three more collected folio editions were issued—in 1632, in 1664, and in 1685. These were, to be sure, expensive works and probably were not printed in large editions. Besides these, from the time of Shakespeare's death until the end of the seventeenth century, there were also issued a number of his plays in pamphlet form, chiefly in acting versions.

These editions, then, were available for purchase in England and for importation into America. But several influences operated to keep Shakespeare from being widely read in the seventeenth century. During the first third of the century, the King's Players, by their influence with the lord chamberlain, effectively discouraged the publication of Shakespeare's plays in quarto —the most popular form—because they believed that the reading of them would reduce attendance at the theater.[3] By restricting the reading of Shakespeare when his plays were new,

[1] Dudley Hutcherson, "The forged quartos," *Times literary supplement*, January 3, 1935, p. 9.

[2] H. C. Bartlett and A. W. Pollard, *A census of Shakespeare's plays in quarto* (New Haven, 1916), pp. 25 and 92.

[3] E. E. Willoughby, *The printing of the first folio of Shakespeare* (London, 1932), pp. 39–40.

they reduced his appeal to the reader later in the century. Again, soon after Shakespeare's death his plays were to a considerable extent crowded from the boards by those of younger dramatists, Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Ford and Webster, with a host of lesser playwrights, such as Sir William Berkeley, author of *The lost lady* (1636) and afterward governor of Virginia.[4] The play-reader, following the playgoer, read these and neglected Shakespeare. The closing of the theaters during the civil war and Commonwealth deprived readers of plays of the stimulus of the theater, and with the opening of the theaters after the Restoration new tastes in the drama left Shakespeare well respected but neither frequently performed nor widely read.

This condition prevailing in England during the seventeenth century was magnified in the colonies. The pioneer had but little time for light reading. Isolated on a farm, he was often forced to be his own doctor, lawyer, and preacher; so his books were largely serious works of agriculture, medicine, law, and religion. The New Englander, too, during the greater part of the seventeenth century took both life and letters seriously. The library of the "learned and reverend" Samuel Lee which was sold in Boston in 1693, for example, contained, according to its catalogue, the contemporary theological writers, the early Church Fathers in Latin and Greek, the Schoolmen, such as Thomas Aquinas, the Babylonian Talmud, the Greek and Latin classics, a very respectable collection of mathematics and science, but only one example of popular literature, a life of Merlin, included perhaps because of the contemporary interest in witchcraft. Deprived of the stimulus of the stage and discouraged in many sections by Puritan antagonism to light literature, readers in the American colonies in the seventeenth century did not often turn to Shakespeare.

[4] R. C. Bald, "Sir William Berkeley and *The lost lady*," *The library*, XVII (4th ser., 1937), 395–426.

In fact, the only copy of a Shakespearean play apparently recorded in America in the seventeenth century is found in Virginia. In the inventory of the library of Arthur Spicer of Richmond County, Virginia, whose will was proved on April 3, 1700, is listed a copy of *Macbeth*.[5] As *Macbeth* was not published separately until 1673, we can fix the approximate date of the importation of this item. Perhaps, however, this is not Shakespeare's original play but Sir William Davenant's adaptation, which was first published in 1674.

Although the copies of Shakespeare which can be assigned with certainty to the seventeenth century resolve themselves into one of a play that may be an adaptation, there are, nevertheless, other copies which may have come to the American colonies before the close of the century.

"Colonel" William Byrd of Westover, Virginia, at his death in 1744 left a magnificent library. On one shelf, for example, stood the works in folio of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Spenser, Beaumont and Fletcher, Chaucer, and Dryden.[6] When William Byrd acquired these books we do not know, but, as he was in England as a student from 1684 to 1692, it is not unlikely he purchased this folio of Shakespeare (quite probably a Fourth Folio of 1685) at that time.

Edmund Berkeley, a member of the council of the governor of Virginia, whose will was proved on March 3, 1718, had in his well-rounded library a copy of Shakespeare which he may have added before the close of the century.[7]

Another copy of Shakespeare's works which perhaps found

[5] E. C. Delano, "Arthur Spicer's inventory," *Tyler's quarterly*, X (1929), 165.

Dr. E. G. Swem, from whose *Virginia historical index* I have obtained the references to early Virginia copies of Shakespeare, tells me that an early folio of Shakespeare, probably the fourth, came to Virginia before the end of the seventeenth century. I have not been able, however, to discover the present whereabouts of the owner of this copy; so have not been able to obtain permission to refer to it.

[6] Wm. Byrd, *Writings*, ed. J. S. Barrett (New York, 1901), p. 422.

[7] *Virginia magazine of history*, XXXV (1927), 37.

its way into the American colonies before the close of the seventeenth century was the copy of the First Folio owned by none other than Cotton Mather.[8] That this staunch Puritan should own a book of plays need not astound us. Shakespeare was gradually being regarded primarily as a poet, and a distinction —which still obtains among certain evangelical sects today— was being made between the morality of witnessing the stage presentation of his plays and of reading them. The English Puritan, Dr. Daniel Williams, for example, bought a copy of the First Folio for the library for Nonconformist divines which he founded in London in 1711.[9] Cotton Mather, too, especially in the later years of his life, was much more liberal in thought than is popularly supposed. On the other hand, Mather's concern with Shakespeare may have been merely controversial, as it was with the works of the Catholic theologians and Roman service books which he had in his library.[10] Certainly he had there, to fortify himself against the influence of the greatest English dramatist, Prynne's *Histrio-mastix* and Stubbes's *Anatomy of abuses*.

The paucity of surviving copies indicates that Shakespeare was little read in the American colonies in the seventeenth century. But this evidence is probably somewhat deceiving. Like modern magazines, pamphlet plays were probably read and discarded and were seldom considered important enough to include in inventories of estates. The last decades of the seventeenth century saw even staid New England succumbing to the charms of worldly frivolity. By 1681 a dancing master had set himself up in Boston,[11] and invoices of books imported from

[8] Sir Sidney Lee, *Shakespeare's comedies, histories & tragedies; a census of extant copies* (Oxford, 1902), p. 14, No. CXXXVII.

[9] *Ibid.*, No. VII.

[10] J. H. Tuttle, "The libraries of the Mathers," reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (N.S.), XX (1910), 14–26, 35–90.

[11] T. G. Wright, *Literary culture in early New England, 1620–1730* (New Haven, 1920), p. 120.

1682 to 1684 include not only Dekker's *The gentle craft* and Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, such picaresque novels as Kirkman's *The English rogue*, but even such ribald works as the Earl of Rochester's *Poems* and Duprat's *Venus in a cloister*. At the end of one of the book lists is even the ominous entry—"4 packs cards."[12] Indeed among the books of New England a number seem singularly unpuritanical, and no doubt some of the readers might be described by the same adjective. John Dunton, writing from Boston on March 25, 1686, to Mr. George Larkin, a London printer, thus describes one of his customers, a Mrs. H——:

> She looks high and speaks in a Majestic Tone, like one acting the Queen's Part in a Play. . . . . She paints and to hide her painting dares hardly laugh. . . . . She was a good customer to me. . . . . The chief Books she bought were Plays and Romances; which to set off the better she would ask for *Books of Gallantry*.[13]

Although Dunton was writing in the conventional style of a character book, there is no reason to assume that he was not describing one type of customer. And a few seventeenth-century New England readers, such as Mrs. H——, may have perused Shakespeare's plays in pamphlet form; but, if so, they have left no trace of their reading. Elnathan Chauncy, son of the president of Harvard, to be sure, copied a quotation from *Venus and Adonis* into a commonplace book not long after 1661, but this line was derived not directly from Shakespeare but from Robert Allott's anthology, *Englands Parnassus* (1600).[14]

The dawn of the eighteenth century saw a change in Shakespeare's vogue both in England and in America. In 1709 was published Rowe's edition of the dramatist. This work freed the text of Shakespeare from some of its obscurities, modernized the spelling and to some extent the language, supplied a life

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 224–37.

[13] *Letters written from New England A.D. 1686* (Boston, 1867), p. 116.

[14] G. L. Kittredge, "A Harvard salutatory oration of 1662," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXVIII (1935), 7–8.

of the author, added act and scene headings, and in general made the plays easier for the average reader.[15] Published by Jacob Tonson, one of the most enterprising publishers England has ever known, in a convenient octavo format in six volumes at the moderate price of thirty shillings, the edition had an immediate success. Other editions were soon called for, and the great eighteenth-century editors, Theobald and Johnson, made the text increasingly easier to read.

The improved text and format wrought under the guidance of shrewd publishers an increase in the reading of Shakespeare. This vogue was further increased by the rapidly growing popularity of Shakespeare on the stage under the influence of able actors, of whom the greatest was Garrick.

The eighteenth century saw the American colonies with growing cities on their coasts, sufficiently removed from the hardships of the frontier to enjoy culture and able to receive from England the increasing popularity of Shakespeare. In 1722 that irrepressible young journalist, James Franklin, in the issue of July 2, 1722, of his *New England courant* stated that there was in his printing office for the use of writers for his paper, a library of English authors, of whom he named, among others, Shakespeare (who headed the list), Milton, Addison, Steele, and Cowley. In the following year Harvard College[16] printed its first catalogue. In it is listed Rowe's 1709 edition. Harvard's library, then, compared in its Shakespearean holdings favorably with the Bodleian Library, which in 1738 had only a Third Folio and one quarto, an edition of the *Poems*, and three adapted plays. In 1773 Harvard listed, in a catalogue of books most frequently read, another set dated 1728, no doubt Pope's second[17] edition. Yale was less ready in its welcome to Shake-

[15] R. B. McKerrow, *The treatment of Shakespeare's text by his earlier editors* (London, 1933), p. 16.

[16] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[17] Cf. entries of the 1790 Harvard Library catalogue.

speare, but Bishop Berkeley presented the library with an edition which was classified, in the catalogue of 1743, with books of diversion.[18] Soon Shakespeare's works with the text emended by the latest editor became a standard item in a list of books offered for sale.

The stage, too, came to America in the eighteenth century. As early as June 23, 1730, an amateur performance of *Romeo and Juliet* was given in New York,[19] and by 1750 professional performances of Shakespeare were being given. This had a decided effect upon readers. In 1761 we find Hugh Gaine of New York advertising for sale a number of pamphlet plays, suitable for taking to the theater. Most of these were contemporary eighteenth-century comedies, but the list included *King Lear*, *The tempest*, and Garrick's adaptation of *The taming of the shrew*, *Catharine and Petruchio*.[20]

Shakespeare soon began to appear with greater frequency in private libraries. James Logan, secretary of the province of Pennsylvania, had in his library a 1714 edition of Rowe probably purchased soon after publication.[21] John Herbert of Chesterfield County and "Councilor" Robert Carter, Virginia, had amazingly well-rounded libraries, each of which included a good edition[22] of Shakespeare. Lord Botetourt, the popular governor of Virginia, at his death in 1770 left in his library not only Hanmer's edition of the dramatist but an *Ode to Shakespeare*—no doubt Garrick's ode to music of 1769.[23]

A number of leaders of the American Revolution were also readers of Shakespeare. In George Washington's boyhood home

[18] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[19] New York Public Library, *Bulletin*, XL (1936), 494.

[20] Hugh Gaine, *Journals*, ed. P. L. Ford (New York, 1902), *passim*.

[21] H. N. Paul, "Shakespeare in Philadelphia," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXVI (1936), 721.

[22] *William and Mary quarterly*, 1st ser., VIII (1900), 145; XI (1902), 23.

[23] *Tyler's quarterly*, II (1921), 123–24.

there was "in the Library . . . . 6 Vols of Shakespeare's plays."[24] Later he bought a copy of the very popular Bell's edition of 1773, now a prized treasure of the Folger Shakespeare Library. His wife, too, had opportunity to become familiar with the dramatist; her first husband, Daniel Parke Custis, who died in 1757, had in his large, well-selected library a set of Shakespeare.[25] Some of the signers of the Declaration of Independence who owned copies of Shakespeare were John Adams, Francis Hopkinson, and John Penn.[26]

It is evident that, by 1776, copies of Shakespeare were fairly common in the American colonies. One question, of course, arises: Were they read? Shakespeare, it should be remembered, was not introduced into a college curriculum until the late 1850's,[27] and there was no compulsory reading of him. Ambitious students, to be sure, occasionally read him to improve their literary style. James Otis, for example, thus exhorted James Perkins: "If you want to read poetry read Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and Pope and throw all the rest in the fire, these are all that are worth reading."[28] But, on the other hand, Benjamin Franklin did not include the dramatist in the large list of recommended authors in his *Sketch of an English school.* In those happy days, when a college student, such as J. Eggleston, a student at William and Mary, who in 1774 owned a set of the dramatist's works, read Shakespeare,[29] he read him for diversion. Yet there existed, thus unforced, a demand even for scholarly critical works about the poet. The Library Company of Philadelphia in 1770 contained not only the plays in the edi-

[24] C. A. Hoppin, "The house in which Washington was born," *Tyler's quarterly*, VIII (1926), 92.

[25] *Virginia magazine of history*, XVII (1909), 412. [26] Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 721.

[27] H. W. Simon, *The reading Shakespeare in American schools and colleges: an historical survey* (New York, 1932), pp. 45–96.

[28] William Tudor, *Life of James Otis* (Boston, 1823), p. 17.

[29] *Virginia magazine of history*, XXIX (1921), 160 n.

tion of Hanmer (purchased in 1746) and of Johnson but also Upcott's *Critical observations on Shakespeare.*[30] Dixon and Hunter of Williamsburg, too, advertised for sale in the *Virginia gazette* for November 25, 1775, Benjamin Heath's "Revisal of Shakespeare's text wherein the Alterations introduced into it by the more modern editors and critics are particularly considered."[31]

Nor was Shakespeare the peculiar pet of a scholarly group. As early as 1756, a writer using the pseudonym, "The Virginia Centinel," wrote a series of patriotic articles in the *Virginia gazette* designed to arouse the colonies against the French, replete with Shakespearean allusions.[32] By the time of the opening of the American Revolution, Shakespeare was so well known that a striking quotation from his plays could form an effective addition to the title-page of a political tract, and a parody of Hamlet's soliloquy could be used to ridicule one's political enemies.[33]

Shakespeare, to be sure, did not appear in print in the American colonies. The first American edition, or rather adaptation, of a play of Shakespeare, *The twins or which is which, a farce altered from Shakespeare's Comedy of errors* by William Woods was published in Philadelphia in 1787. The first critical work on the dramatist, the fourth edition of *A philosophical analysis of some of Shakespeare's remarkable characters* by William Richardson of the University of Glasgow was published in the following year. And, finally, the *Plays and poems of Shakespeare corrected from the best London editions with notes by Samuel Johnson* made its appearance in Philadelphia in 1795 and 1796, accompanied by a preface and a life of Shakespeare,

[30] 2d ed.; London, 1748.

[31] *William and Mary quarterly*, XV (1st ser., 1906), 106.

[32] E. C. Cook, "Colonial newspapers and magazines," *Cambridge history of American literature* (4 vols.; New York, 1917–21), I, 118.

[33] M. C. Tyler, *Literary history of American revolution, 1763–1783* (2 vols.; New York, 1897), II, 54–55.

almost certainly written by a young Philadelphia lawyer, Joseph Hopkinson, best known to his contemporaries and to us as the author of "Hail Columbia, happy land."[34]

Shakespeare, then, did not appear in print in the New World until ninety-nine years after his great contemporary, Bacon, whose *Essays* comprised the third part of Daniel Leeds's *Temple of wisdom* printed in Philadelphia by William Bradford in 1688. But this delay was largely the result of the ease of importation of books from England. To cite an analogous example: although the English Bible was the most read book in the American colonies, and although as early as 1688 William Bradford had proposed the printing of an edition, the New Testament in English was not printed in this country until 1777, nor the whole Bible until 1782.

To return, however, to Colonial days: two readers have left us accounts of their reading of Shakespeare in prerevolutionary America. The relation by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a good-natured Scotch physician who had settled in Annapolis, of how on a journey north in September, 1744, he read in Philadelphia amid much visiting "one of Shakespeare's plays," and a few days later, "Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens or Manhater*" (probably Shadwell's adaptation), need not detain us here.[35] The second account, however, describes a situation which is unlikely to be duplicated, an incident in which the reading of Shakespeare saved the reader's life. Captain Thomas Morris "of his Majestie's XVII regiment of Infantry" wrote the story in his journal, which he completed at Detroit on September 25, 1764.[36]

General Bradstreet, unmindful of the influence that Pontiac

[34] He also claimed to have been the designer of the American flag (G. E. Hastings, *Life and works of Francis Hopkinson* [Chicago, 1926], pp. 240–58).

[35] *Itinerarium*, ed. A. B. Hart (St. Louis, 1907), pp. 232 and 235.

[36] Printed in R. G. Thwaites, *Early western travels* (32 vols.; Cleveland, 1904–7), I, 296–328.

still exerted on the western tribes, sent Morris, accompanied by a released French-Canadian prisoner and some friendly Indians, to take possession of the Illinois country in His Britannic Majesty's name, and to induce the Indian tribes to ally themselves with the British. He proceeded to Pontiac's own village near Naumee Rapids, where he stayed for several days negotiating and miraculously escaping several attempts which were made to assassinate him. On the thirtieth of July he writes in his journal: "An Indian called the little chief . . . . made me a present of a volume of Shakespeare's plays: a singular gift from a savage. He however begged a little gunpowder in return." This volume of Shakespeare no doubt was taken from the body or baggage of some British officer who had been killed in Braddock's defeat, nine years before, for this occurred but a few miles from the scene of that disaster, and a few days later, on the fifth of August, Morris met "an Indian on a handsome white horse that had been General Braddock's and had been taken . . . . when that General was killed." Continuing his journey, as Morris relates it in his journal,

> on the seventh of September in the morning we got into easy water and arrived at the meadow near the Miamis fort, pretty early in the day. We were met at the bottom of the meadow by almost the whole village, who brought spears and tommahawks in order to despatch me; even the little children had bows and arrows to shoot at the Englishman who had come among them; but I had the good fortune to stay in the canoe, reading the tragedy of Anthony and Cleopatra, in the volume of Shakespear, which the little chief had given me, when the rest went on shore, though perfectly ignorant of their intention, I pushed the canoe over to the other side of the river [p. 312].

Escaping this mob attempt on his life and several later dangers, Captain Morris finally made his way to Detroit and lived to write an essay on dramatic art in which he said: "If the world ever afforded me a pleasure equal to that of reading Shakespear at the foot of a water-fall in an American desert, it was Du Menil's performance of tragedy."[37]

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

THE MATHER BIBLIOGRAPHY*

By Thomas J. Holmes

ONE of my predecessors closed his excellent catalogue of the works of Cotton Mather with an apology for its defects, which was indeed fittingly modest of him; no bibliography can ever be perfect. But, he added, "more time and labour have been expended upon the work of cataloguing the publications of Cotton Mather than their value justifies." That statement, however, is not modest. It is unfortunate. But it does not dismiss Cotton Mather, as intended. It tends to dismiss that compiler.

It seems to me he thereby confesses that he has entirely missed the significance of the writings of the Puritan scribbler of Boston, with all the tangles in their publication that drive his editors to despair. He surely has likewise missed the significance of the whole fourteen writers of the Colonial Mather family: Richard, Increase, Cotton, the four Samuels, the two Nathanaels, and the rest.

It is true, and I will hasten to agree, that, with exceptions, the great doctors of American literature from Tyler to Parrington have scarcely admitted the writings of the Mathers to be within the luminous pale of American literature at all. Yet among those exceptions, Barrett Wendell and George L. Kittredge, and later Kenneth B. Murdock, have found elements to admire in those writings.

"Literature," said Barrett Wendell, "is the lasting expression in words, of the meaning of life." We think of literature in its

* Prepared for the *Papers* at the request of the Committee on Publications.

most authentic sense as a product of art, born and forever living, and moving, in the realm and region of the enlightened and quickened imagination. The cadences and music of its language charm, entertain, and ennoble the minds of men. Poetry, great prose, and fiction, by their sheer beauty, become imperishable literature. Barrett Wendell's broad definition embraces history, of course—it records human experience—he has included it. It includes also theology and philosophy, which deal with the development of the human spirit.

And may it not by slight extension include also another sort of writing that is not the product of studied art—that is, not for the sake of art—which springs copiously in times of stress almost spontaneously from the mass of the people through those representative individuals who live closest to its heart, who feel and know its needs and voice its hopes? I mean a certain vital kind of ephemera, carrying a controversial edge like the anti-slavery publications and much of the writings of Martin Luther; sometimes in periods of repression raw and crude, as were the scurrilities of "Smectymnuus" who assaulted the English bishops under Charles I and helped to prepare the way for the Westminster Assembly and the English Commonwealth. It does not embrace Milton's majestic *Paradise lost*, but may it not include these stimulating pamphlets of his on the burning questions of his time—naïve and impracticable though some of his suggestions might be.

These ephemerae are not conscious art, not imaginative literature, not finished history, but they are the living material of which all three are made. Every example of this sort, it seems to me, is a pulse beat of the great common human heart.

Has the Protestant Reformation significance in European history? Are the Puritan refinements within that movement in England, with their lasting influences on English religious and political institutions worthy of our attention? Then let us think for one moment of the noblest product and divinest dream of

the whole Protestant movement—a Bible-ruled commonwealth, established free, as the times would permit, from the trammels of the old countries and conditions, set in a colony beyond the sea where it might flourish and draw unto its standard and emulation men of good will everywhere; where men abiding by God's law could live free and equal, bowing the knee to none but God.

Is the record of the dreams, hopes, strivings, and ultimate fate of that noble experiment to be reckoned of value to us? That record can be found mainly in its own literature. It was probably the only colony so established in the history of this old earth.

We shall not here harp again wearily on the defects in the very conception of such a commonwealth, its narrow principle which drove Thomas Hooker to Hartford, Roger Williams to Providence, and other high-minded people from its borders; and that *Bible rule* and *will of God* came to mean what the inspired founders and ministers *thought* they meant. For a moment, let us forget the critics' din. These men sought to make the Christian teaching the practical basis for the secular life of ordinary men, on a broad state-wide scale. Let them speak for themselves.

The lives of the several generations of the Mathers spanned almost the whole period of that Commonwealth experiment. Some of their members were intimately connected with the efforts to make it a success and were in special ways representative of its character. Richard wrote its *Cambridge platform;* Increase procured its second charter. He thought of it as "his" New England; that is, his life was lived for it. Cotton told its tale in his *Magnalia* and other works and prodigally spent his strength in its propaganda.

The Mather writings as a group comprise the vital ephemerae of the Bible Commonwealth of Massachusetts. They are probably the best record that now remains of that great venture of the human spirit.

Surely, it is puerile to neglect these men because of peccadillos in their personal character as seen from certain hostile points of view; or to dismiss their voluminous writings because of alleged quaintness of style. Both the men and their books belong to their period and to the childhood of our nation. We cannot dismiss that. No decent family ignores its baby because his voice is husky or his features unclassical.

Whether we then consider the Mather writings to be among the streams and rivulets of early American literature or not, they have not in modern times been as fairly and fully read or as adequately explored as they probably deserve for the value of any source material on Colonial history they may contain. New interest in them is developing.[1]

Even the mere sermons of Cotton Mather, least hopeful of all his writings, are not devoid of vitality. I recently learned of a busy young minister who found in them a mine of material for use in his own sermons which went over so well that his congregation flourished. "Human problems," said this young minister, "are essentially the same today as they were in Cotton Mather's time. Mather's analyses and applications of the principles of truth are as fitting to life of today as they were two and a half centuries ago."

The first problem presented by the Mather writings evidently was to record and analyze them adequately. They exist only in a very few copies; of some titles, only one, two, or three copies being known, and all of them are scattered widely in historical society libraries and museums of the European and Western world, and in a few private collections. Many titles have totally

[1] E.g., Dr. Theodore Hornberger has found in the works of both Increase and Cotton Mather much light on the state of natural philosophy, as science was called, in the Colonial and early Provincial period. He is preparing his findings for early publication.

Dr. Kenneth B. Murdock, author of *Increase Mather the first American Puritan* and editor of *Selections from the writings of Cotton Mather* has prepared for the Facsimile Text Society a republication of Cotton Mather's *Manuductio ad ministerium. Directions for a candidate of the ministry* (Boston, 1726).

disappeared, leaving only a bare reference or record that they once existed.

The lists that now exist have all been compiled in a considerable part from earlier and more fragmentary lists. Under such conditions, few but the most obvious of errors could possibly be eliminated. None of the bibliographers who have worked on the Mather writings hitherto has seen the originals of more than a comparatively small proportion of the titles they describe. All have included books the Mathers did not write; some, mere "ghosts," being convincing descriptions gradually built up of books that never existed at all. We found, for example, seven misascriptions and four ghosts among the works attributed to Increase Mather, together with dozens of other errors of less serious nature.

Fragments and portions of books stalk down the old library records and lists as whole works. Books to which the Mathers had with other ministers set their indorsing signatures have been loaded upon the credits of their authorship.

The tendency seemed growing to attribute to their authorship every anonymous title that appeared in their period. Some items have been credited to them which were hostile to the positions which they took on certain questions. Citing once more the works of Increase Mather, we canceled a total of thirty-six items from previous records which had appeared there as proper titles of works written by him.

Most of those writers who have set forth to appraise and evaluate the writings of the Mathers, particularly those who with glittering and scathing brilliance have demolished and annihilated them, have done so without reading more than a few, probably without even seeing the rusty brown covers of a half of them. Even the individual books they have condemned, they seem not to have read thoroughly, or with open mind.

The obvious retort to this, that in buying apples a sample is

enough, happens in this case to be scarcely correct. Though it is true that the books of any place and period appear at a distance to be very much alike; and that at first glance the Mather books are similar to one another "as milk is like milk, and one egg like another"; yet on closer examination, so far as I have been able to observe, each work had its special reason for existence, and that most of the works were the result of some incident, or were the special product of some more or less unique circumstance or need of the time. Guessing at the contents of any author's work is never a very safe proceeding, especially if the author has been dead two hundred years.

Cotton Mather's friends could wish that he had written less and had revised more. In preaching, he himself deplored extemporaneous work and habitually practiced and inculcated careful preparation. With more revision his written work could perhaps have had more of accuracy, more of art—conceding something to his critics—but it would have contained less of that heat and that kind of vitality, which is characteristic of the burning torrent of almost spontaneous ephemerae, that, between his more studied work intended for permanence, flowed in seeming millions of words from his amazing pen.

His brain seemed a fire of fertility. Asked for a sermon at the New North Church (an offspring of his own church), when he visited it as it was being finished, he meditated six minutes, then delivered a sermon which was so successful and well received that the brethren who were "swarming into" the new church asked him for a copy of it that it might be printed. But no shorthand writer on this occasion was present, no notes existed, and no copy was taken.

That so many of his and his father's sermons were taken down in shorthand notes by their hearers, as we now know that they were, some sermons being recovered solely by that means, surely should indicate something of the position of respect with which both of the ministers of the Second or North Church

were held by the public in their day. And, in turn, this should aid us in determining *provisionally* that we are safe in accepting these works at their face value as being the voice of their period—so far at any rate that they might be critically examined, accurately listed, and fairly analyzed and described.

The total number of the Mather publications is at this time impossible to determine with accuracy. The writings of Richard Mather and his male offspring considered together as a family group—though three members of the family went to Europe and died there—might tentatively be set at 621, with authors and works published, being as follows:

11	Richard, 1596–1669 (minister at Dorchester, 1633–69)
4	Samuel, 1626–71 (minister first at Boston, died at Dublin), first son of Richard; Harvard, 1643
5	Nathanael, 1630–97 (first minister of the City Temple, London), third son of Richard; Harvard, 1647
1	Eleazar, 1637–69 (first minister of Northampton, Mass.), fifth son of Richard; Harvard, 1656
102	Increase, 1639–1723 (minister of Second Church, Boston), sixth son of Richard; Harvard, 1656
444	Cotton, 1663–1728 (minister of Second Church, Boston), first son of Increase, grandson of Richard; Harvard, 1678
2	Nathanael, 1669–88 (died at Salem, aged nineteen years), second son of Increase, grandson of Richard; Harvard, 1685
11	Samuel, 1674–1733 (minister of Witney, Oxfordshire, England), third son of Increase, grandson of Richard; Harvard, 1690
4	Samuel, 1651–1728 (minister of Windsor, Connecticut), son of Timothy, the farmer, grandson of Richard; Harvard, 1671
22	Samuel, 1706–85 (of Boston), son of Cotton, great-grandson of Richard; Harvard, 1723
1	Wareham, 1666–1745 (minister of Westchester, N.Y., and New Haven, Conn.), son of Eleazar, grandson of Richard; Harvard, 1685
7	Azariah, 1685–1737 (minister of Saybrook, Conn.), son of Rev. Samuel Mather of Windsor; great-grandson of Richard; Yale, 1705
1	Allyn or Alling, 1747–84 (minister of Fair Haven, Conn.), son of Nathanael Mather of Windsor; great-great-great-grandson of Richard; Yale, 1771
6	Moses, 1719–1806 (minister of Middlesex, i.e. Darien, Conn.), son of Captain Timothy, great-great-grandson of Richard; Yale, 1739
621	

I trust that it is no secret that quite a bit of progress has already been made toward the charting of this material. A member of the Mather family itself, an eighth-generation son of old Richard it was—William G. Mather of Cleveland, Ohio—who inspired anew the effort to give form and shape to an adequate bibliography of the writings of the forebears of his family.

This conception grew out of a plan vaguely cherished in his early life to gather in his own library a collection of those writings. He began collecting in 1886 with a few purchases at the fourth Brinley sale. But thereafter the lure of business for a while entirely absorbed his attention. He followed in the footsteps of his father in aiding, through the companies they headed, in the development of the iron-ore fields of the Lake Superior region. Opening, financing, developing, and disposing of the product of a dozen or more important iron-ore mines in Upper Michigan and Minnesota, with the building and operating of a fleet of modern steamboats to transport the red ore to lower lake ports, was enough to occupy fully his energies for some years.

With the coming later of a little leisure time, and also of sufficient money to work with, the old love for books reasserted itself. He recommenced collecting the old Mather writings from Colonial days; and he interested me in his undertaking. This was a few years ago.

We knew the difficulties which lay in the path of forming any collection which could ever approximate completeness. The oldest collections, started more than a century ago, like those in the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, or the Prince Collection, in the Boston Public Library, lacked upward of one-half of the recorded originals.

The idea was soon born of doing something that might be of help to all the collections everywhere, and also to scholars. This was to compile a reliable descriptive bibliography of all these relics of the Mather writings, including those reputedly unique

titles widely dispersed, as, for example, those in the Henry E. Huntington Library in Pasadena, and the Bodleian Library and British Museum in England; which are difficult of access for the usual student.

To determine what form such a bibliography should take, we consulted with a number of eminent bibliographers, among whom were Dr. Wilberforce Eames, Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth, Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, Dr. George P. Winship, and others. Plans rapidly took shape; perhaps too rapidly, as it now seems, and too naïvely also, as we look back over the stony road that has lain in the path of performance and the carrying-out of those plans.

The design was to compile a census, with location of every extant copy of these writings; to photograph and to reproduce in zinc etching every known Mather title-page, and other significant pages, such as those which contained colophons, etc.; and to examine, identify, and authenticate every known work; to give to it a full technical description by sheet signatures, by number of leaves, by pages, and by a description of its printed contents, according to the most approved modern practice. Variant imprints and variations in the text of different copies were to be given in order to simplify the records and set at rest false claims of new issues and new editions which really had no basis in fact; and of course to give full descriptions of bona fide new issues, that is, of new printings, and new editions containing editorial changes. In short, we sought to set up a trustworthy, standard, and readily helpful guide to our author's true literary works.

A summary of the contents of each work, or at least a bare suggestion or indication of its nature, was to be included. For the historically important or highly controversial pieces, something of the background or setting of the item was designed for inclusion. Such was our Mather Bibliography intended to be.

For the bibliography of a body of literature that was repre-

sentative of a religious, social, and political movement important in its day, a literature that now exists only in very rare copies, some titles only in broken and fragmentary form, scattered in the principal historical libraries throughout the two main branches of the English-speaking world, impossible by its very condition for a student or a historian to consult; these complicated details of our projected Mather Bibliography then seemed, to our ardent spirits, a most reasonable and irreducible minimum.

Gaily then did we set forth, like Dibdin of old, upon a bibliographical tour; but with photographic equipment and aided by an expert photographer to take photographs of the title-pages of every available Mather work, and to take a few notes, on the wing. Permission of librarians of university and historical society libraries was everywhere graciously extended to us.

To catch all that was possible from the fading ink of the ancient printing of the title-pages, we used panchromatic plates, or films; and to stop out as much as possible of the color in the browned and stained ancient paper, we used color filters of various hues; chiefly red, orange, and yellow.

Over seven hundred photographs were made. Well over six hundred of these have since been completed in zinc etchings ready for makeup into the printers' forms, to illustrate all of the Mather authors. One hundred and seventy-seven of these, dealing with the works of Increase Mather have already been used, as we shall report.

Meanwhile, notes were being compiled on the works themselves. We considered that the works of Increase Mather were of chief importance in the whole group. To his works, therefore, we gave first editorial attention. His portion of the Bibliography was completed, and it was printed in two volumes, of five hundred copies, by the Harvard University Press in 1931, principally at the expense of Mr. William G. Mather. However,

a part of the material cost of printing and binding the edition is being charged against the sale of the copies at ten dollars for the set of two volumes. For durability, the volumes were hand sewn, with laced-in boards, and quarter-bound in green levant, with cloth sides, and gilt tops.[2] These volumes are illustrated with the one hundred and seventy-seven zinc etchings, mentioned above as already having been used.

The published edition of *Increase Mather: a bibliography of his works* was well received by critics, reviewers, librarians, and collectors; but the distribution of the work during the late depression period, priced far below cost though the book was, has proceeded but slowly.

Following the publication of the Increase Mather *Bibliography*, Mr. William G. Mather found reasons to sell his collection and practically to cease his patronage of the bibliography. Perhaps he *too* was tired. It has proved a far greater undertaking than anyone at all connected with it could possibly foresee. Of work upon which we could build, little more than nothing had so far been done.

I now wistfully recall a remark made some years ago by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, who had edited Cotton Mather's *Diary* in two volumes. He said, "Mr. Holmes, you are getting into that Mather bog. I warn you, you will never get out of it again." Some words and phrases spring into being with *force*, like those armed soldiers which sprang from the dragon's teeth planted by Cadmus. Please note that symbolic epithet: "Mather bog"; how truly descriptive and felicitous it is I may later be able to show.

The remainder of the prepared but unused zinc etchings, some 450 in number,[3] were donated by Mr. William G. Mather to the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. His Mather

[2] The binding was done by the Lakeside Press Bindery, Chicago, Ill.

[3] These reproduce the title-pages of the works of the so-called "minor" Mathers and the works of Cotton Mather, with the deficiencies mentioned later in this paper.

Collection, comprising some 342 Mather titles out of the known 621 published books, with many other collateral works written by other authors contemporary with the Mathers, dealing with the questions of their time, and also bibliographical and historical works, he sold in September, 1935, to Mr. Tracy William McGregor of Detroit and Washington, D.C. Mr. McGregor was then actively engaged in building up his library of Americana.[4]

It seemed that the Mather Bibliography had come to a final stop. But Mr. McGregor upon consulting his copy of the Increase Mather *Bibliography* found it so helpful to him, that without suggestion or solicitation by anyone, he offered five thousand dollars to begin a fund to continue the editorial work on the works of Cotton Mather. The American Council of Learned Societies he said indorsed his action in this.[5] In the fall of 1935 he wrote to Mr. William G. Mather in Cleveland, announcing this offer. He wrote also to me in the same strain.

Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, the director of the American Antiquarian Society, brought the matter to issue during an interview with Mr. McGregor, at Washington in January, 1936,whereby the American Antiquarian Society became the administrator of Mr. McGregor's fund for the continuation of the editorial work on the Cotton Mather Bibliography.

On April 15, 1936, the bibliographical work upon Cotton Mather's publications was renewed and has continued to this present writing in June, 1937. Some figures might help us here.

Statement concerning the annotations:

Cotton Mather titles in our check list..... 444

(These are entries before our editing. They represent the approximate number of whole works attributed to him, exclusive of

[4] Mr. Tracy William McGregor died in Washington on May 6, 1936, before he could give as final a form to his great Americana collection as he had wished.

[5] I take it that by this he meant that gentlemen who were members of that council had approved his intention as being a worthy one. He mentioned in particular to me, the interest expressed by the historian, the late Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of Washington, D.C.

fragmentary publications, such as prefaces and printed letters, etc., of which there seem to be upward of about eighty entries.)

Titles completely annotated and practically ready for press	300
Titles yet to be annotated	144

(Practically all of the fragmentary material is yet to be treated.)

Statement concerning the illustrations:

Works for which zinc etchings are ready	372
Titles not photographed but for which originals are known	30
Works in unique copies lacking title-pages	7
Recorded works of which no copies have been found	35
	444

In the 372 works mentioned above, there are probably 18 works for each of which, to clarify important distinctions, two or three (in one instance, four) zinc etchings have been made. This adds about 44 to the number of etchings indicated above, but it does not add to the number of titles illustrated; which so far is still 372.

The 30 titles mentioned above still needing photographs and zinc etchings, which I believe merely await attention, are located as follows:

American Antiquarian Society	7	Library of Congress	5
Bodleian Library	4	Matt B. Jones, Esq.	2
British Museum	3	New York Historical Society	1
Boston Public Library	3	Watkinson Library	2
Harvard University Library	1	Yale University Library	2

All of these 30, except the 7 at the American Antiquarian Society, are among the 144 titles yet to be annotated. The fragmentary material generally will not be illustrated.

An example or two of the problems which Cotton Mather's publications present might prove interesting here. Let us enter the "Mather bog" for a step or two.

Cotton Mather's *Fair weather*—inviting title—exists today in just three extant copies. The best bibliographies show with apparently unimpeachable authority that it had two editions, but that it was published in Boston in 1691, 1692, and 1694.

Apparently an important book, evidently a best seller. The existing copies revealed by our census are located at the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and at Yale University Library.

The American Antiquarian Society copy, the first examined, has a blotched imprint, and the digit numeral in the date is small. But under a magnifying glass, it seemed to come out clearly as 1692. Seeing which, I hoped that the copy at the Massachusetts Historical Society and that at Yale, might by good luck represent one the 1691, and the other the 1694 editions. Correspondence with those two courteous gentlemen, Mr. Allyn B. Forbes, librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Dr. Andrew Keogh, librarian of Yale, revealed one indeed to be of the 1691, and the other "looks like 1694."

The text of the title-pages, however, read alike. Photostats and comparisons came into play. Research helped finally to determine that the work was printed in only one edition with date 1692. No second edition was ever printed. The date 1691 was due partly to the uncertainty of the imprint and partly to confusion in the early records. The 1694 resulted solely from the difficulty of reading the blotchy imprint of the original. The "second edition" was simply invented to account for the date 1694. Thus these three copies originated the legend of three successive editions. This is an example of only one kind of tangle. There exists every kind that afflicts the bibliographer.

In 1719 Cotton Mather, moved by attacks in England upon the doctrine of the Trinity, wrote a letter to his friend, the Rev. Thomas Bradbury in London. Characteristically, Mather's letter begged the question of doctrine and touched only on whether tolerance should be extended to the disaffected brethren. He supported the orthodox plan of refusing communion to the brethren in question. This trifling fleabite of his composition stands recorded in the bibliographies under not less than five variant titles and four dates.

A friend, reading in the British Museum Library, generously wrote to inform me of the identity underlying two of these entries. It was practically an accident that revealed to me the identity underlying two more. But only comparison and some incidental research while on another title cleared up the identity of the original letter, underlying all five entries of this trifle.

In Cotton Mather's original entries, which were used by his son Samuel Mather in compiling the earliest catalogue of his works, the various titles were recorded while still in manuscript under the current date as they went to press— each with a provisional title. During the process of printing, time occasionally brought around another year, giving the published work a different date than its entry bears in Samuel's catalogue. Added to this, the author sometimes had second thoughts on what would look well as a title to the book, while the text was going into type. He was too busy to change also his catalogue entry. Therefore, when the book appeared, not only did it sometimes bear a date at variance with Samuel's catalogue but, as often, it had a different title. Here, then, are two apparently unconnected entries in the earliest records, covering only one book. This happened a number of times.

Paraphrased and subject-matter titles in the early advertisements have also been carelessly and assiduously garnered into some bibliographies.[6] Many of these false entries have in later times been corrected, but those most difficult of correction have remained until now.

Perhaps the most common form of difficulty arises from the imperfect condition of many extant pieces. Title-pages and leaves are sometimes missing. Caption and running titles of such fragments, sometimes different from their true titles, have

[6] E.g., his *Small offers towards the service of the tabernacle in the wilderness* (Boston, 1689), had four titles. In a list of his books published in 1692, it was advertised as *The good man's resolution*. In a similar list published in 1695 the same work appears as *Discourses to serve the designs of practical godliness*. In 1700, copies of the work were issued with the cancel title-page, *The resolved Christian*.

been given bibliographical record as titles of published works. Fragments of other authors' works have also floated into the stagnant backwaters of Mather bibliographies.

To obtain a standard and complete collation of such works, two or more imperfect copies, existing in libraries separated by great distances must be consulted and sometimes compared; usually possible only by aid of photostat copies. These difficulties are enhanced when the question of reprints is involved. Cotton Mather's *Token for the children of New England*, printed frequently with James Janeway's *Token for children*, for example, is a horror of confusion by successive editors.

Certain kinds of writings, such as catechisms, Mather republished several times; sometimes with new material, or with rearrangement of the old; but generally with new titles. To gather up the tiny threads and fragments of evidence and information to piece together the finished story of many of Mather's publications is a work entailing endless patience.

If the Mather Bibliography addressed itself only to the correction of technical errors in the record of a bewildering mass of publications which now seem or have become trivial, I would agree with my predecessor in allowing the errors to remain. But enough gold has already been recovered to indicate that the old deposit is well worth the mining.

Professor George L. Kittredge some years ago made signal strides in the clarification of Cotton Mather's works having some importance, when he identified about fourteen titles of papers which Mather had contributed to the Royal Society.[7]

A clearing-up of Cotton Mather's publications from their beginning in 1682 down to 1700 will show not only how great was his influence in shaping the political destiny of his colony in certain very critical junctures, especially during that part of the intercharter period while his father was in London; but,

[7] G. L. Kittredge, "Some lost works of Cotton Mather," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, XLV (1912), 418–79.

more surprising still, that his attitude during the witch hunts of his time was in many ways parallel to that of a doctor during a plague.

Yet, long after 1700, and after his influence in politics had waned—a waning totally unconnected with the witch trials—his public leadership as minister became even stronger; and many of his most valuable and permanent contributions to the literature of his time came from his pen during those years when the gentlemen at the Townhouse consulted him no more. It has been a surprise to myself to observe that Cotton Mather through his writings continued to be "useful citizen" down the ripening years of his life. I found to my dismay that his works after the political period could not honestly be brushed off, as I had hoped, with a mere number and a collation. The "bog" seemed to demand the labor of charting. Alas, that its surveying should fall upon me! More able editors cared not to undertake it.

Let us glance at Mather's work after his political period. Benjamin Franklin gave to Cotton Mather's *Essays to do good* credit for having been one of the major influences in his life.[8] These *Essays* have been reprinted some sixteen or eighteen times with the most baffling editorial changes by George Burder and others. The work richly merits having its record cleared up, and is also deserving of a new edition in our own time, modernized anew from Mather's own first edition, which ap peared in 1710.

Let us readily admit that Cotton Mather was no experimental "natural philosopher," that is, no scientist, as were Robert Boyle or Blaise Pascal; yet so close an observer and recorder was he of the progress that the opening human mind was making in that wonderful time in which he lived, that his *Christian*

[8] Franklin's letter, "Passy," November 10, 1779, to Samuel, son of Cotton Mather, printed in *Franklin's works*, III, 478, and quoted in George Burder's Preface in many editions of Mather's *Essays to do good.*

philosopher, published in London in 1721, still marks a milestone in the recorded history of science.

His *Manuductio ad ministerium. Directions for a candidate for the ministry* (Boston, 1726) is a little window, perhaps ancient and mullioned, which looks out delightfully upon the whole broad flowered field of learning of the early eighteenth century. In the kind mentor at our elbow, giving a nod of approval or note of warning for all we glance at, we find not only a great scholar and teacher but an utterly easy and a most charming companion. The ripe advice he gives in this book to a young minister is even yet unantiquated. A new edition of the work is at this moment in course of preparation.

Other noteworthy books there are from Cotton Mather's pen during this period; but perhaps I should refer the reader to the yet unfinished Bibliography. It is not enough merely to mention titles.

The witchcraft episode brought in above, however, makes it imperative to draw attention to a ray or two of new light on that subject. The *Increase Mather: a bibliography of his works*, by a new study of his writings in connection with contemporary records, has already shown (pp. 115–38) that some conventional historians have been mistaken concerning the witch trials; and that it was not the "sturdy yeoman of the jury," not the magistrates, least of all the tumult of the people, but the Boston ministers under the enlightened leadership of Increase Mather, who in October, 1692, successfully exerted their influence to bring the witch trials to a sudden close. This timely action saved the lives of twenty-seven accused persons who were then in jail, three of whom had been already sentenced to death. Moreover, it sounded the death knell of witch persecutions in Massachusetts and became an example and precedent for the world to follow.

The Mather Bibliography has aimed to indicate what really was written and what the connections of those writings were

with their times. Here and there it has shown what were some of the consequences. And, of course, it has endeavored to present a faithful census of copies.

If the Cotton Mather Bibliography can be carried to its conclusion and put through the press in a form similar to the published *Bibliography* of Increase, a long step will have been taken to bring America's most voluminous writer within the possibility of easy and intelligent consultation, and also of successive new uses and evaluations as coming generations seek for themselves the meaning of the adventure of the Bible Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with those antecedent conditions in Europe which brought it forth.

Mr. McGregor's fund of five thousand dollars, having been paid out at the rate of three hundred dollars per month, has covered the cost of the editorial work only to about the end of August, 1937.

Because Cotton Mather's works are enmeshed in unpredictable tangles, it is difficult to prognosticate what progress will attend their unravelment. If the accomplishment already performed is a trustworthy indication of that which remains to be done, there are some seven months' work on the major titles, and a possible three or four months' work on the fragmentary pieces, which possibly might also include the marking-up of the copy, preparing it for the printer.

There exists no plan at present for completing the bibliography of the so-called "minor" Mathers, although much work has been done toward the compilation of a volume devoted to their works. Some seventy-five zinc-etched reproductions of their title-pages are finished. A census of copies has been compiled, together with some notes. Of the *Cambridge platform* (compiled by Richard Mather) about thirty-one editions have been found for which we have a census of located copies.

The late Wilberforce Eames generously contributed his check list of the *New England psalm-book* (*Bay psalm-book*) which was

translated from the Hebrew into English meter by Richard Mather, Thomas Welde, and John Eliot. This list, with editions found since, now records about sixty editions. For almost all these editions we have a census of located copies.

Miss Margaret Bingham Stillwell, librarian of the Annmary Brown Memorial Library at Providence, generously aided this portion of the Mather Bibliography by the fine contribution of a revision of our check list and of brief collation statements for a very considerable number of the minor Mather titles.

Mr. William G. Mather in September, 1936, contributed to the American Antiquarian Society for expenses on the Mather Bibliography the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars.[9] The purpose of this fund was to pay for the typing of correspondence and printer's copy, the making of additional photostats, photographs and zinc etchings, and the necessary traveling expenses of the compiler.

[9] If the full story of the activities of Mr. William G. Mather's library is ever told, it should include a note or two on the privately printed monographs that he issued, one written by Professor George L. Kittredge, another by Dr. Kenneth B. Murdock, both of which were designed and printed by Bruce Rogers; as well as the papers on special topics connected with the Mather writings that were contributed to the publications of learned societies or that were published in other ways.

REVIEWS

Samuel Richardson: a bibliographical record of his literary career with historical notes. By William Merritt Sale, Jr. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1936. $5.00.

A bibliographical history of the writings of Samuel Richardson possesses more than the usual biographical significance. When he commenced his career as a novelist, in 1739, Richardson could look back upon thirty-three years of active service in the printer's trade, and upon some twenty years during which he had been master of his own press. There lay before him a career of over twenty years as a successful novelist who was his own printer and often his own publisher. Thus every step in the printing and publication, as well as in the writing, of his works becomes material of immediate significance in the biography of Samuel Richardson.

Such a state of affairs makes his works an ideally rewarding subject for bibliographical study. Admittedly, as Mr. Sale complains, it also presents difficulties to the investigator, in the obvious absence of any correspondence or records of transactions between author, printer, and publisher. In the present case, however, this deficiency is perhaps more than compensated for by the preservation, in the Forster Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, of Richardson's own tremendous mass of correspondence relating to his own works.

Mr. Sale's book should be praised for its demonstration of the indispensable service which the science of bibliography may render to the student of literary history. His careful exposition of the details involved in the composition, printing, and publishing of Richardson's works and of the numerous books inspired by them will be of very real service in the study of Richardson or of the history of printing and publishing practices in the eighteenth century.

The bibliographical procedure has been devised in an attempt to include all details which are important, and to avoid the retailing of irrelevant minutiae. Each user of the book must form his own judgment as to the wisdom of Mr. Sale's decisions on certain of these questions; to me they seem in the main well considered and sensible. He

provides, for instance, no data on page size, arguing that they are "relatively unimportant in eighteenth-century bibliography of this period and serve in too many cases as a means to increase disproportionately the value of a copy owned or offered for sale." He also ignores variations in binding, as being determined in most cases by owners rather than by printer or publisher, and as being too numerous and unimportant to record. Omission of such data may irritate collectors and dealers but will detract little from the usefulness of the book to the scholar.

Transcriptions of title-pages are also omitted, their place being taken by photographic reproductions. The most labored transcription fails to reproduce the spacing, rules, ornaments, or various types employed. Given the photograph, however, one needs only the dimensions of the type page to complete a perfect picture of the actual appearance of the page. This device, usually employed heretofore only in bibliographical catalogues of great private collections, is certainly worthy of more general adoption.

BENJAMIN C. NANGLE

Yale University

Das amerikanische Buchwesen. By HELLMUT LEHMANN-HAUPT, in collaboration with RUTH S. GRANNISS and LAWRENCE C. WROTH. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1937. Pp. xii+384. M.16.

It was with interest that I read *Das amerikanische Buchwesen* from cover to cover. As the first account of the "book in America," planned and designed for German readers, it is a significant contribution to the propagation of America's history of literature, printing, and collecting.

The German publishers have chosen the three contributors from the rank and file of our professional colleagues. Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth, of the John Carter Brown Library, writes the first part of the historical development of the American book from its beginnings down to the Civil War. Mr. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, of Columbia University, is the compiler of the second part dealing with the period from the Civil War to the present time, while Miss Ruth S. Granniss, of the Grolier Club, has presented the book-collecting game in the United States.

The collaboration of the authors has made it possible for us to read

the whole as one exciting novel, and it is only at the end, when we find a minutely detailed and accurate bibliography and index, that we can justly add the "reference" value to the book.

Mr. Wroth not only gives a fine setting for the earliest books in America but continues emphasizing the historical and sociological background which made the American book develop as it did. That, together with a clear and precise outline of the factual side, makes the chapter not only a valuable source for the student but also a significant bit of writing. The spread of printing as conditioned by political facts and economic reasons in the various states is so clearly put down that there can be no doubt in the minds of the German student how difficult a time printing had in the pioneer days. Chronological tables at the end of various chapters, reviewing what has been said, are the welcome breathing spells of an expert lecturer when he gives his audience a chance to turn in their minds what they have just heard. His description of early type-founding, printing presses, ink, and paper, his observations on working conditions, so vital a factor in a new development, on trade organizations, as well as on the growth of the commercial publishing house, illuminate the account which otherwise might have been factual and dry. Selling methods are dealt with, the beginning of industrialization which brought forth such an evolution in so short a time, and the ever intricate copyright question conclude this stimulating presentation.

With the year 1860, Mr. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt picks up where we leave Mr. Wroth. Soon we follow the trail of the industrial revolution out of which the first master-printers of the nineteenth century appeared. Names like De Vinne and Joel Munsell, familiar to all of us, are introduced to the German public. The division of printer and publisher takes place, and the author accordingly treats of the various printing establishments. The publishing houses follow, each separately, almost census-like, from the earliest to our own time. Books and authors, printers and publishers, are called to our attention—a brilliant pageant of American literature and printing. It is one of the author's merits to have used the growth of American literature as a background for his treatise. We never lose the setting. Perhaps he has, at times, meant too well and has given too much about a certain man's personality rather than a fuller account of his work. However, the development is made clear and is, except for a few inaccuracies, instructive. Stone and Kimball are hailed as one of the first publishers

who appealed to the palate of the literary gourmets. But we are not told that their list was taken over by the house of Duffield, which in turn started the first juvenile department in the history of the American book. In the description of our present-day publishing and printing the author succeeds in presenting the hustle and bustle of the industry such as we all know it. But a few of his generalizations are dangerous: Not all publishers employ free-lance designers for their title-pages and for the typographical appearance of their publications, and, if so, I am sure, the designer is given a chance to read at least some of the manuscript before starting his job. And, furthermore, we cannot believe the author's statement that book production recently has taken a turn for the better since several young Germans have come over to exercise their experience on this side of the ocean. A statement surely flattering to the German reader, but hardly a fact.

With fine printing and a growing interest in the book per se, book-collecting became one of the hobbies of America. Miss Granniss' report, based on her wide and sure experience, is written with knowledge and taste alike. She speaks with authority, and it is her privilege to have known, and to know, so many of the distinguished collectors that her chapter is indeed a glowing record of the heavenly sin called bibliomania. Such collectors as the presidents of the United States, such scholarly benefactors as Mr. John Carter Brown and Mr. Lenox have here found appreciation and keen judgment. Clubs and bibliographical societies pass our eye. The beginning of the public library system is explained. When we close the book, Miss Granniss' account of King's Chapel Library in Boston still rings in our ears, when Governor Nicholson demanded that books, and not guns, be bought.

Karl Küp

RECORDS IN THE COPYRIGHT OFFICE OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS DEPOSITED BY THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURTS, 1790–1870*

By MARTIN A. ROBERTS

THE subject of my remarks is two long ranges of shelves in the Copyright Office filled with great folio record books, whose shredding sheepskin binding has for many years been gradually giving way to buckram. These books are a tattered army, imposing from their size and number and ragged age. Every succeeding member of the staff of the Copyright Office has gazed at them with respect; their appearance immediately sets them off from the modern canvas-bound tomes in which the copyright entries are currently made. But this is not the source of the honor they receive; that arises from the fact that these volumes contain all the copyright records before 1870, before the date at which the Library of Congress became the registry of copyrights. These volumes are, so to speak, the ancestors; they connect the unrecorded past in which copyright records were nonexistent with the modern present in which copyright-cataloguers sometimes become presidents of bibliographical societies.

If such respect is exacted by these records from their continuators, how much more should a bibliographer honor them! It is, therefore, a privilege to recount their unexciting history.

* Read, December 30, 1937, at a meeting of the Society held in Philadelphia.

In the preparation of this paper, besides the works cited in the text, I have drawn upon a study made by Mr. Verner W. Clapp, of the Library of Congress staff, of this phase of copyright history; also upon *Copyright Protection and Statutory Formalities*, by Thorvald Solberg (Washington, D.C., 1904); and *An Outline of Copyright Law*, by Richard C. De Wolf (Boston, [*c.* 1925]).

Statutory copyright dates only from the eighteenth century; and it is of interest to note that England was the only country to precede the United States in securing copyright legislation, the earliest French law coming into force only in 1791. The first American acts—those of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maryland—were all passed in 1783. The year previous Thomas Paine had written (in his *Letter to the Abbé Raynal*):

> The state of literature in America must one day become a subject of legislative consideration. Hitherto it hath been a disinterested volunteer in the service of the Revolution [one thinks of "Common sense," "The crisis," and the royalties they might have brought], and no man thought of profits: but when peace shall give time and opportunity for study, the country will deprive itself of the honor and service of letters and the improvement of science, unless sufficient laws are made to prevent depredations on literary property.

By 1786 all of the original states but Delaware had passed copyright laws. These were chiefly due, directly or indirectly, to the activity of one man—Noah Webster—who traveled from state to state, urging the protection of authors' rights. By the time that the federal convention met in Philadelphia to frame a new Constitution, therefore, the principle of statutory copyright was generally agreed upon, and its inclusion in the foundation document of our political structure gave rise to no difficulty. Article I, section 8, of the Constitution provides: "The Congress shall have power . . . to promote the progress of science and the useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." Thus the United States was the first nation to include in its fundamental law a provision regarding the rights of authors. It is worthy of note, however, that it is

the promotion of progress, rather than the rights of the author, which is the constitutional object, and the validity of any copyright act which could be shown not to promote the progress of science and the useful arts might immediately be called in question. It is worthy of remark, too, that unless the Constitution is amended, Congress can never secure to authors an exclusive right to their writings for more than "limited times."

The constitutional provision still needed statutory expression, and this was given at the second session of the First Congress, meeting in New York. The journals of Congress would seem to indicate incentives to such acts of legislation from a stream of petitions asking for exclusive rights in literary and other works. Among the petitioners we recognize Jedidiah Morse, Mrs. Hannah Adams, and David Ramsay. "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned" was approved on May 31, 1790, and was intended to take immediate effect. Its intentions were twofold: to confirm the rightful proprietors in the possession of literary property already published, and to provide for copyright registration in the future prior to actual publication. Section 3 of the act read in part as follows:

> . . . No person shall be entitled to the benefit of this act, in cases where any map, chart, book or books, hath or have been already printed and published, unless he shall first deposit, and in all other cases, unless he shall before publication deposit a printed copy of the title of said map, chart, book or books, in the clerk's office of the district court where the author or proprietor shall reside: And the clerk of said court is hereby directed and required to record the same forthwith, in a book to be kept by him for that purpose, in the words following, (giving a copy thereof to the said author or proprietor, under the seal of the court, if he shall require the same). "District of to wit: *Be it remembered*, That on the day of in the year of the independence of the United States of America, A.B. of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a map, chart, book or books, (as the case may be) the right whereof he claims as author or proprietor, (as the case may be) in the words following, to wit: [Here insert the title] in conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entituled

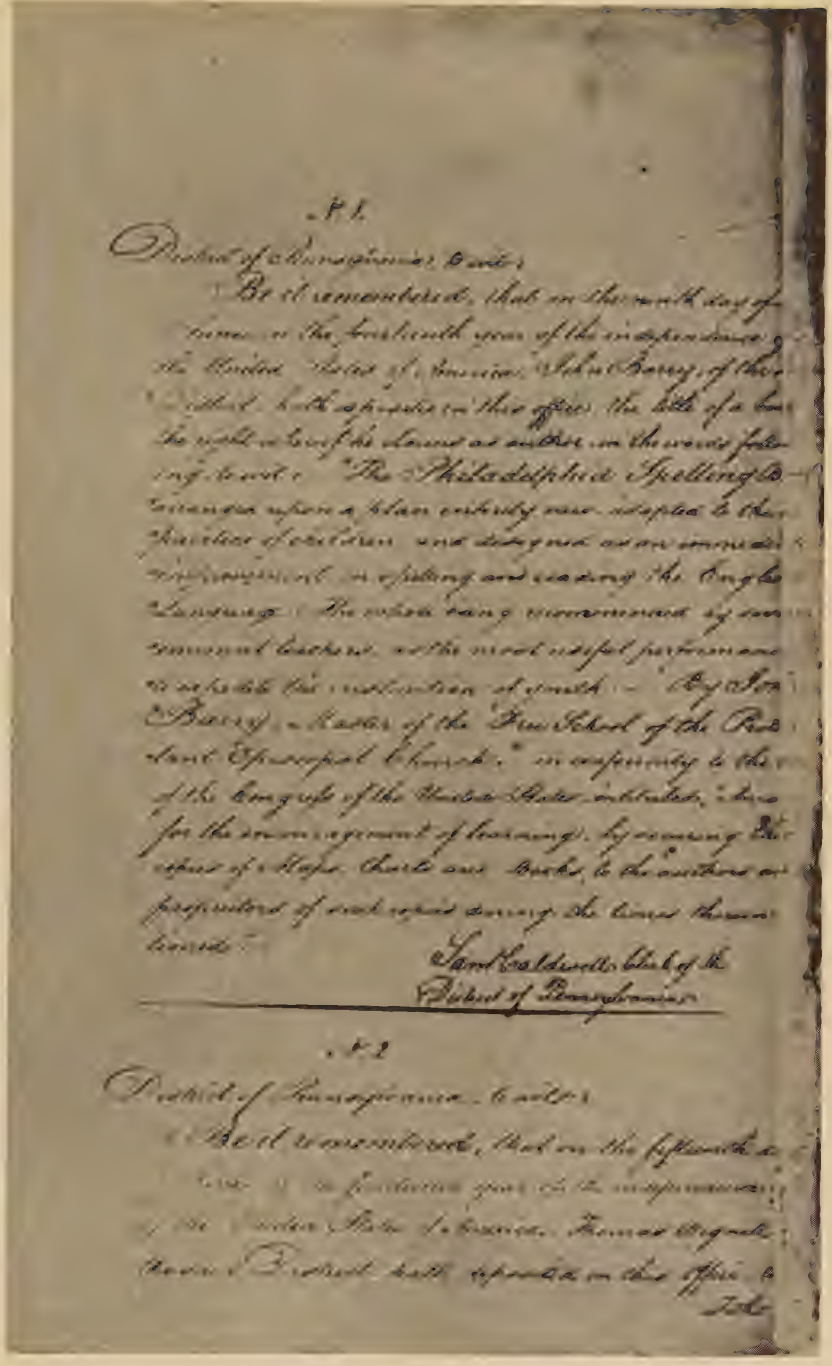
'An act for the encouragement of learning . . .' C. D. clerk of the district of ." For which the clerk shall be entitled to receive sixty cents from the said author or proprietor, and sixty cents for every copy under seal actually given to such author or proprietor as aforesaid. . .

Other provisions of the act required that the claimant should exhibit his certificate of copyright by advertising it in one or more newspapers for four weeks within two months of registration, and that within six months of publication he should deposit a copy of the work with the Secretary of State, "to be preserved in his office."

With the other aspects of copyright legislation we have here no concern. I may remark in passing, however, that the rights secured by this act were confined to citizens or residents of the United States; that the original term of fourteen years could be extended by the author upon renewal of his registration for a similar period (the term of copyright has ever in this country been in multiples of the seven years of the old royal patents); that copyright was expressly withheld from the work of foreigners; and that remedies for infringement were provided.

The first work entered for copyright under the act was in the District Court of Pennsylvania, on June 14 (exactly a fortnight after its approval). John Barry, master of the Free School of the Protestant Episcopal Church registered as author *The Philadelphia Spelling Book, Arranged upon a Plan Entirely New.* No work by this title in this year has been discovered, but Evans has identified it (No. 22326) with *The American Spelling Book*, having otherwise the same title (Philadelphia: Printed by Carey, Stewart & co.?, 1790); and even of this, no copies are known to exist. Later editions (up to the tenth [1812]) having the original title are, however, in existence.

Four copyright entries had been made in the Pennsylvania court before one was made in Massachusetts, on July 10, 1790, in favor of the Rev. Jedidiah Morse (who, it will be remembered, had been a petitioner to Congress on the subject of copy-



PAGE 1 OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE COPYRIGHT RECORDS OF THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT AT PHILADELPHIA, SHOWING THE FIRST ENTRY UNDER THE COPYRIGHT ACT OF 1790

right). Two works were cited in this first Massachusetts entry (thereby effecting a saving of $1.20—60 cents for registration and 60 cents for a copy of the certificate). These were *The American Geography* and *Geography Made Easy*. Both had been published previously and were to be often reprinted.

The District Court of Maine (not then a state) at Portland was the third (of which there is now record) to accept an entry for copyright registration. This was for Judge Samuel Freeman's *The Columbian Primer*, registered August 14, 1790. No copies of a Portland edition are known, although Evans (No. 22511) has attempted to identify one. The Boston Public Library has, however, a copy of a Boston, 1790, edition; and there were later editions.

The entries in the first volume of the Maine records (1790–1864) are entirely on forms printed about 1820, shortly after the appointment of John Mussey, Jr., as clerk. The first clerk, Henry Sewall, apparently retained his seat in the office long enough to transcribe the records of his regime into these forms. And since the wording of the copyright certificate had been changed in 1802, a few forms were struck off at the same time with the others, but with four and a half lines of type dropped, in order to accommodate the entries of 1790–1802. Sewall's original certificate for the second Maine entry (1791) is still in existence, however, framed and hung in the office of the Register of Copyrights. It was discovered in 1932 among some miscellaneous title-pages and bears Sewall's indorsement of about 1820: "Recorded in Copyright Record page 1."

The use of these printed forms made the earning of the copyright fee a sinecure—for a time. But in 1831 the form of the certificate was once more changed. In 1864 the clerk was still using the stock of forms printed forty-four years previously, but his entry at the later date consisted largely in crossing out the no longer applicable printed matter.

New York, now the publishing center of the United States,

was late in effecting its first registration. This was also for a schoolbook—Donald Fraser's *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Assistant*, entered on April 30, 1791. It was published by Thomas Greenleaf, New York, 1791, and copies are in existence (Evans 23387).

Altogether, the whole recorded copyright business of the district courts for the first year from the passage of the act amounted to thirty-three titles. It must not be thought, however, from the samples given, that these were comprised wholly of textbooks. A classification of the titles entered shows the following:

	Titles		Titles
Schoolbooks	10	Medicine	2
Geodetic and nautical tables	5	Religion	2
Maps	3	Almanacs	1
Music	3	Agriculture	1
Directories	2	Poems	1
Law	2	Plays	1
		Total	33

Among the interesting registrations of this early period, a few may be mentioned besides those already cited. The second Pennsylvania entry (June 15, 1790) was for the first play by an American author successfully produced upon the stage. This was Royall Tyler's *The Contrast, a Comedy* (Philadelphia: Pritchard & Hall, 1790; Evans 22948). The third Pennsylvania entry was for the Rev. John Churchman's *An Explanation of the Magnetic Atlas* (Philadelphia: James & Johnson, 1790; Evans 22406); A. J. Dallas' *Reports* (Philadelphia: For the reporter by T. Bradford, 1790; Evans 22445) was the fourth; and Samuel Sower (*sic*) registered, as proprietor, not author, *Das kleine* [*Davidische*] *Psalterspiel des Kinder Zions* (Chestnuthill: Samuel Sauer, 1791; Evans 23197), the eighth Pennsylvania entry.

The second Massachusetts entry was in the name of Isaiah Thomas; this was for Samuel Deane's *The New-England Farmer;*

or Georgical Dictionary (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1790; Evans 22450).

The fourth and fifth New York copyrights were entered on September 8, 1791, in the name of the Hon. Samuel Stearns, "doctor of physic and of the civil and canon laws, astronomer to the provinces of Quebec and New-Brunswick, also to the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the state of Vermont in America." The titles which he registered were *The American Dispensatory* and *The American Oracle* (Evans 23794 and 23795). The first of these titles is particularly interesting since it is that of an apparently "lost book." Evans gives no data of publication or location of copies, nor have I improved on his record. It is possible, of course, that *The American Dispensatory* may have become the author's *The American Herbal*, printed at Walpole, New Hampshire, in 1801. However this may be, this item brings up the question of lost books which is recurrent in connection with the old copyright records. You will recall that books were entered in them prior to publication, and in the period of eighty years which they cover a considerable number must never have reached the printer's stick.

You may perhaps remember Mrs. Hannah Adams as a petitioner to Congress in 1789 for exclusive rights in her *Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects*, of which an edition had appeared in 1784. An entry for this work, as the sixteenth Massachusetts copyright, is found under the title *A View of Religions* (Boston, [1791]; Evans 23102). Again, in 1798, our author copyrighted a book in the Massachusetts court, this time *A Summary History of New-England* (Dedham: Printed for the author, by H. Mann and J. H. Adams, 1799; Evans 35075), which was to involve her in controversy with the Rev. Jedidiah Morse.

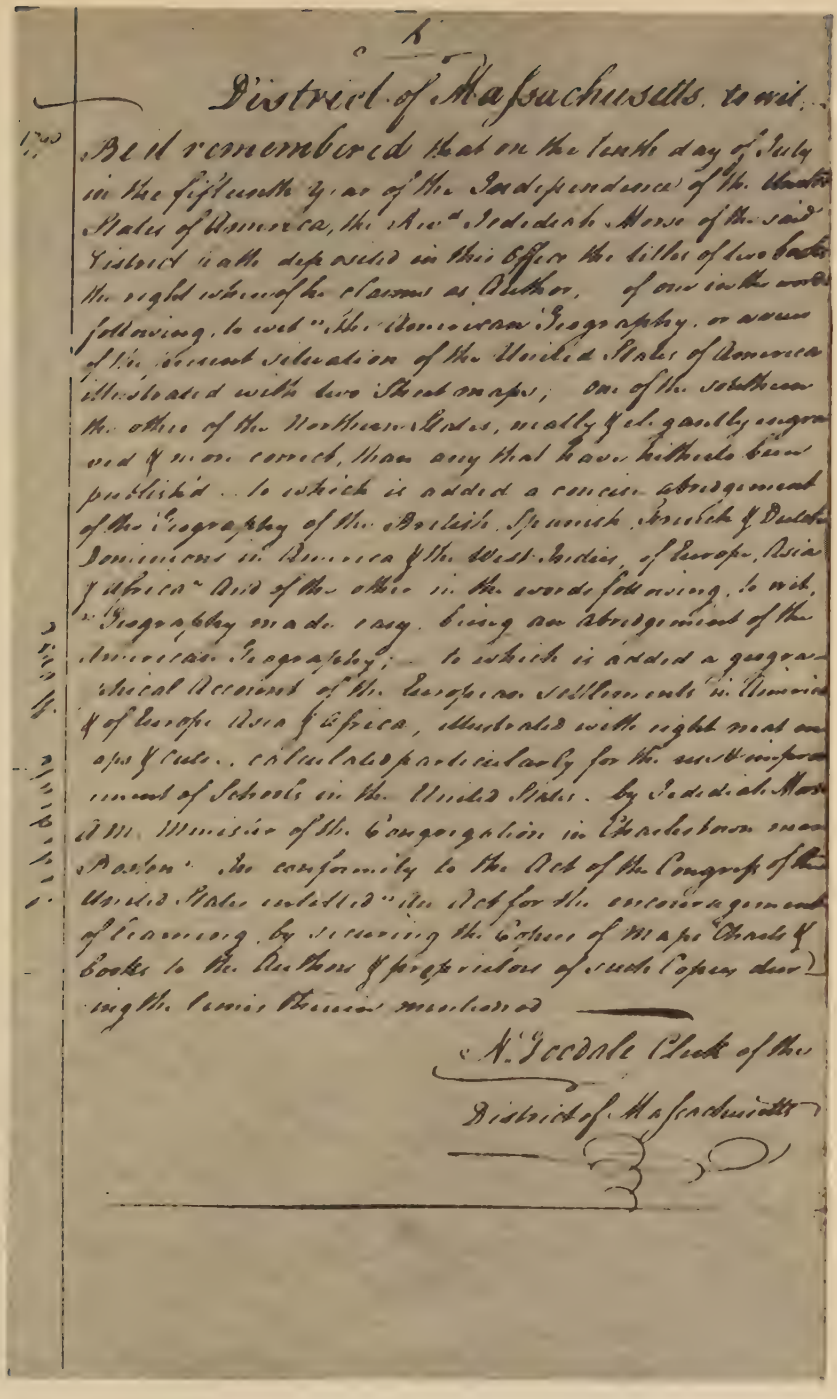
We need not consider the various changes of the copyright laws from 1790 to 1870, save as these changes affected the records. The first amendment of the law of 1790 was enacted on

April 29, 1802, and was effective from January 1, 1803. It added prints to the articles subject to the copyright laws. It also made a new requirement—that notice of copyright registration be printed in the article itself. The provision for the insertion of a notice of copyright in published copyrightable material has since become one of the most important articles of our copyright credo. It may be noted, in passing, that the practice was one which was adopted by the publishers without statutory compulsion and for their own protection. Some, among the earliest books published under the act of 1790 (I may cite the *Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel* as an example), had on their title-pages the words: "Published according to Act of Congress." At least one early work, however, Churchman's *Explanation of the Magnetic Atlas*, bore on the verso of the title-page the full certificate as the law required it to be advertised in newspapers. The statutory provision doubtless grew out of this practice.

The law of 1802 did not, nevertheless, much affect the clerks of the district courts or the records they were making for posterity, save as it increased their copyright business by the addition of prints. The law of February 3, 1831, immediately effective, changed it considerably. This act was a complete revision of the copyright laws. It repealed those of 1790 and 1802. The changes which it effected, as far as our present interest goes, were as follows:

The terms of copyright were increased from fourteen years for the original term and fourteen years for renewal to twenty-eight and twenty-eight years, respectively. Within three months (instead of six) the claimant was to deposit a copy of his work, not with the Secretary of State as formerly, but with the clerk of the court. And, by section 4 of the act the clerk's duties were extended:

> . . . It shall be the duty of the clerk of each district court, at least once in every year, to transmit a certified list of all such records of copyright including the titles so recorded, and the dates of record, and also all the several copies of books and other works deposited in his office according to this act, to the Secretary of State, to be preserved in his office.



District of Massachusetts, to wit.

Be it remembered that on the tenth day of July in the fifteenth year of the Independence of the United States of America, the Rev.d Jedidiah Morse of the said District hath deposited in this Office the title of a book the right whereof he claims as Author, of one in the words following, to wit: "The American Geography, or a view of the present situation of the United States of America illustrated with two Sheet maps, one of the southern the other of the Northern States, neatly & elegantly engraved & more correct, than any that have hitherto been published. To which is added a concise abridgement of the Geography of the British, Spanish, Swedish & Dutch Dominions in America & the West Indies, of Europe, Asia & Africa." And of the other in the words following, to wit, "Geography made easy. being an abridgement of the American Geography: to which is added a geographical Account of the European Settlements in America & of Europe Asia & Africa, illustrated with eight neat maps & Cuts. calculated particularly for the use & improvement of Schools in the United States. by Jedidiah Morse D.D. Minister of the Congregation in Charlestown near Boston." In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States entitled "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps Charts & Books to the Authors & proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned.

N. Goodale Clerk of the District of Massachusetts

THE FIRST ENTRY IN THE FIRST VOLUME OF COPYRIGHT RECORDS OF THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT AT BOSTON

The effect of this provision on the records will be seen at a glance. They were to be preserved thenceforth in duplicate.

The act of June 30, 1834, having immediate effect, provided that an assignment of copyright must be recorded in the court "where the original copyright is deposited and recorded." As a result of this, the clerks of many of the courts immediately set up registers of assignments separate from the original entries.

Up to the period at which we are now arrived, it will be noticed that the depository copies required by the law reverted to the Secretary of State, purely for purposes of preservation and legal record. It was now beginning to be realized, however, that the same machinery which was securing a copy for *record* might also secure copies for *use*. Now there were at this time two libraries of the federal government, each having, in its own way, claims to the title of the national library. These were the library of the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress. Consequently, by an act approved August 10, 1846, it was provided that thereafter, within three months of publication, one copy of each copyright article should be delivered to the librarian of the Smithsonian Institution and one to the Librarian of Congress "for the use of said libraries." An act of March 3, 1855, enabled such articles to be sent free through the mails. These acts are of particular interest since the whole matter of copyright procedure was to be henceforth dependent upon the issue of the tug-of-war between the copy for record and the copy for use.

Meanwhile, if the libraries of the federal government were eagerly seeking copyright deposits, the Department of State was having a surfeit of them. With the growth of business of the Department and its specialization in the field of foreign affairs, it lacked room and attention to give to these records of claim. It was felt that the Patent Office, whose functions were invoked by the same section of the Constitution which authorized the copyright laws, and which had a cognate guardianship in the preservation of models of patents, was the appropriate de-

pository. Consequently, by a law approved February 5, 1859, all the records, deposits, and functions of the Department of State with regard to copyright were transferred to the Department of Interior, of which the Patent Office was a unit. At the same time, the law requiring copies to be deposited in the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress was repealed.

In consequence a Copyright Library was organized in the Patent Office, with Edmund Flagg as the librarian; and the records and deposits of the Department of State were transferred to his care. Here they remained until 1870.

The act of March 3, 1865, signalized the arrival of a new art by extending the benefits of the copyrights acts to photographs and their negatives. It also renewed the obligation to deposit a copy of every copyright article in the Library of Congress. The time for doing this was reduced to one month from the date of publication; the Librarian was required to give a receipt for the article; and, if the article should not voluntarily be forthcoming from the publisher, the Librarian was empowered to demand it. Should it not be produced at his demand, the claimant would forfeit copyright.

This law meant only one thing—that the copy for use had suddenly assumed an importance equal, if not superior, to that of the copy for record. No provision of law specifically voided copyright for failure to deposit a copy with the district clerk, as this law did for failure to deposit with the Librarian of Congress. (Actually, however, the Supreme Court had ruled, in *Wheaton* v. *Peters*, 8 Peters 591, that the deposit of the copy for record was essential to the validity of a copyright, while in *Jollie* v. *Jacques*, 1 Blatchford 618, a United States circuit court had ruled that deposit of the copy for use was not essential. This was the reason for the specific penalty mentioned in this act.)

Another change wrought by the passage of time may be noted in this law. In 1865 the Smithsonian Institution was not renamed, as was the Library of Congress, a depository library.

Since 1846 a differentiation of function had taken place; the Smithsonian Institution had become more exclusively concerned in the formation of scientific collections, while the Library of Congress had become more nearly a national library than at the earlier date. The very next year (1866) was to witness the Institution committing even its own library to the care of the Library of Congress, where it still remains as a separate unit, still receiving current accessions.

The provisions of the law of 1865 were strengthened, and certain loopholes were closed by an act approved two years later (February 18, 1867). A penalty of $25 was provided for failure to transmit the depository copy within one month, and the depositor was given protection by authorizing him to exact a receipt from the postmaster into whose hands he committed it.

Thus the matter rested—for three years. Meanwhile there was a growing sentiment in favor of wholesale reform of the procedure. Matters of copyright were being handled in some forty or fifty different offices, for the district courts had long ceased to be the original thirteen. Depository copies had to be sent to two places; copyright searches were troublesome, involved, and uncertain. At one stroke, therefore, by the act of July 8, 1870, all this business was concentrated. By the simple logic of sending the two depository copies—the one for record, the other for use—to the same official (the one interested in its use), and of giving him authority in all matters of registration and custody, the situation was rendered clear. The copy for use had won the day, and the Librarian of Congress was henceforth required "to perform all acts and duties required by the law touching copyrights." All records and deposits of copyright in the Patent Office and in the district courts were to be transferred to his custody. It is sufficient to say that they were; that the deposits, numbering 23,070 volumes, were absorbed into the collections of the Library; and that the records are those which we now have under discussion.

Such in brief (I am afraid not briefly enough) is the history of what may be termed the "ancestors" of the Copyright Office. Let me hasten to describe them.

The records, as a whole, number approximately 615 volumes. These are of five kinds: the original registers kept by the clerks of the district courts; the copies certified by them to the Secretary of State or to the Secretary of Interior, pursuant to the law of 1831; the records of the Departments of State and of the Interior (Patent Office); the records of the depository libraries (Smithsonian Institution and Library of Congress); and, finally, miscellanea.

1. *The original registers.*—These comprise about 315 volumes; they vary considerably in completeness and uniformity. The records of the New York (later the New York Southern District), of the Pennsylvania (later Pennsylvania Eastern District), and of the Massachusetts district courts are unbroken from 1790 or 1791 to 1870, the records for New York comprising alone 112 volumes plus 3 volumes of assignments from 1834 to 1870. These and the records of other busy courts usually contain indexes in each volume. The titles of the articles submitted by claimants at the time of registration were often tipped in on the very page containing the entry. There are thus preserved to us many interesting specimens of typographic art—not only title-pages of books not yet published, but patent-medicine labels, cigar-box linings, photographs, and all the other miscellanea which the copyright laws were called upon to protect.

There are certain important omissions. The Delaware records were said to be filed with the Court's dockets and not to be in a condition for transmission to Washington. The Connecticut records, which would contain much early material of interest, lack all entries before No. 115. The Virginia records prior to 1865 are stated to have been destroyed in the fire of Richmond. Many of the states and territories had no records to send at all.

It is interesting to note the advance of the frontier in the

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Southern District of New-York, ss. No. 308

Be it Remembered, That on the Twelfth day of November Anno Domini 1845, Edgar A. Poe of the said District, hath deposited in this Office the title of a Book

the title of which is in the words following, to wit:

"The Raven

and other Poems.

By Edgar A. Poe.

the right whereof he claims as Author and Proprietor. In conformity with an act of Congress, entitled "An Act to amend the several Acts respecting copy-rights."

J. W. Mealy

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

Work deposited this Twelfth day of November 1845.

FACSIMILE OF THE REGISTRATION OF POE'S *The Raven*

date at which the records start in the various districts: Ohio, 1806; Illinois, 1821; Michigan, 1824; Missouri, 1857; California, 1851; Colorado, 1864.

2. *The copies of the original registers.*—From 1831 to 1870 the clerks of the courts were required by law to furnish, at least once a year, copies of their records to the Secretary of State, later the Secretary of the Interior. The volumes containing these records, nearly three hundred in number, furnish a duplicate file from which many gaps in the originals can be closed. This is their whole importance, and beyond this they present no individual interest.

3, *a*) *The records of the Department of State.*—The depository copies received in the Department of State from 1796 to 1842 are recorded in 11 volumes. Beginning with 1803 there are notations indicating that a certificate of receipt was issued by the Department. Beginning with 1819, the record is comprised of copies of these certificates on printed forms.

b) *The records of the Department of Interior* (*Patent Office*).—When the deposits of the Department of State were transferred to the Patent Office in 1859, they were recorded in a large ledger, chronologically by date of imprint, alphabetically within each year. There are 7,849 titles, covering copyrights from 1795 to 1858; but there are only 32 titles prior to 1816. Accessions from January 10, 1860, to July 5, 1870, were entered *seriatim* in two large ledgers numbered from 15,001 to 43,075.

4. *The records of the depository libraries.*—The accession registers of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the receipts of copyright deposits under the operation of the law from 1846 to 1859, were not among the records of which the transfer to the Librarian of Congress was required by the law of 1870. A disastrous fire in the Institution in 1865 destroyed many of their records up to that year. Similar registers for the Library of Congress are in existence, however, both for the period from 1846 to 1852 and for the period from 1865 to 1870.

5. *Miscellanea.*—Here may be placed, for the time being, certain small groups of material which should really be sorted out and placed with the preceding. Among these are letters on copyright matters addressed to or from the district courts, the Department of State, the Patent Office, and the Library of Congress at the time of the transfer, lists of clerks of the courts, title-pages not entered in the registers at the time of original entry, etc.

That these records contain a wealth of information fundamental to the bibliography of the United States needs no emphasis from me. They are the basic sources for a history of our literary and typographic arts for the period which saw those arts spring from the swaddling clothes of the eighteenth century to the giant stature of the nineteenth. At a rough estimate these records may contain 150,000 entries. And this wealth of material is substantially untouched. Evans, indeed, drew upon the single decade prior to 1800 for titles and annotations of entries for his monumental work. The records of the district courts of Michigan from 1824 to 1870 have been published by Mr. William L. Jenks, of Port Huron, in the *Michigan History Magazine* from January, 1927, to Winter, 1931. A record of the Virginia copyright entries, 1790–1844, copied from the original entries in the possession of Judge Robert W. Hughes, were published in 1911 by the Virginia State Library with an Introduction by J. H. Whitty. The entries on accountancy were drawn off by Miss Ruth S. Leonard for her and Mr. H. C. Bentley's *Bibliography of Works on Accounting by American Authors* (Boston, 1934–35). But of any further publication of the records I am unaware. And yet, for more than half a century the crying need of American bibliography has been a complete account of the national literary production.

I should like to be able to tell you that the transfer of deposits from the Department of State to the Patent Office, and thence to the Library of Congress in 1870, was fully representa-

tive of the copyright business of the previous eighty years. It was not. At least with respect to the earlier registrations, it is often difficult to trace an identity between books now on our shelves and the original depository copies. When such pedigrees can be established, they are interesting, however, and I will give you four examples, taking four well-known books from three of the district courts.

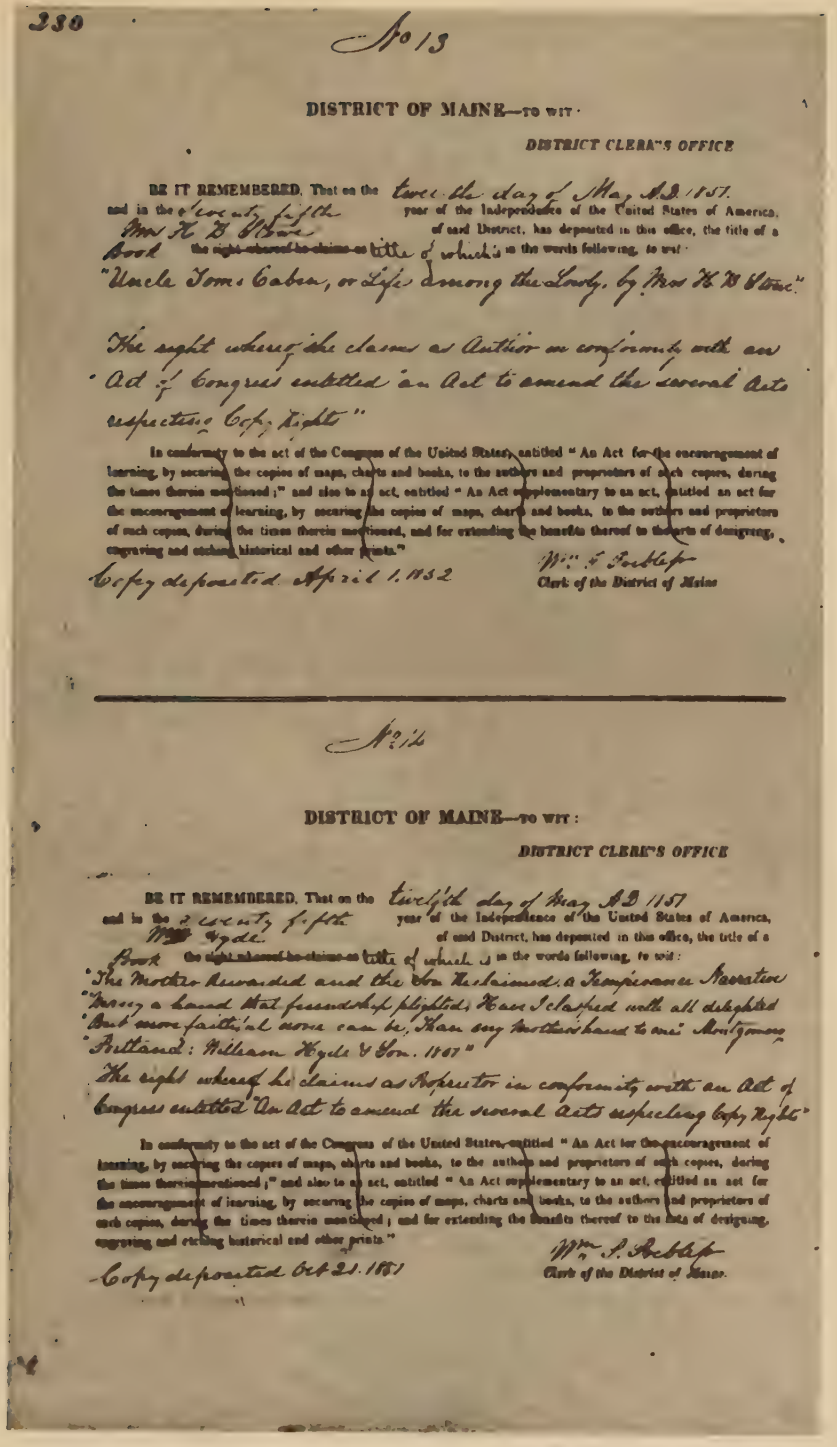
Edgar Allan Poe's *The Raven* was registered in the Southern District Court of New York at New York City in the name of the author on November 12, 1845. The entry is found in Volume XVIII, page 247, of the records of the Court. A copy of the first edition now on our shelves (PS2609.A1 1845a) bears the indorsement of the District Clerk on the title-page: "Deposited in the Clerk's Office for t[he] So. Dist. of New York, Nov. 12, 184[5]." On the verso of the title-page is a number written in red pencil, "6307." This is the number of the entry in the *Register of Copyrights Deposited in the United States Patent Office*, covering the transfers from the Department of State on April 28, 1859. Finally, on the title-page is the impression of a rubber stamp, "Library of Congress . . . Copyright 1872," indicating its transfer from the Patent Office to its final resting-place.

Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables* was registered in the District Court of Massachusetts at Boston on March 1, 1851 (XXVI, 79, of the court records). The Library has a copy of the first edition (PS1861.A1 1851), bearing on the title-page the indorsement: "Dep[osite]d May 7, 1851. R[ec]orded Vol. 26 p. 79." I have not found this item in the register of transfers from the Department of State to the Patent Office. It nevertheless found its way eventually to the proper place. A second copy of the first edition bears on the title-page a green label bearing the words: "Copyright Dec. 22, 1851." This signifies that this was the depository copy delivered to the Library of Congress under the act of 1846, and accordingly we find in the register of copies received in the Library under that act (p. 227) that a copy was received on that date.

Uncle Tom's Cabin was entered in the District Court of Maine at Portland on May 12, 1851 (I, 230, of the court records). I have not been able to find trace of the copy deposited with the clerk and presumably sent by him to the Department of State. However, both the other depository copies are in existence (PZ3.S89Un., copies 1 and 2). The first volume of one of these bears on the title-page the green label signifying deposition in the Library of Congress, with the date May 26, [1]852; and the receipt of the volumes is recorded in the register under that date (p. 249). Of the other copy, both volumes bear the stamp of the Smithsonian Institution.

With respect to another famous book, *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, I have been able to trace all three copies. The registration was made in the Massachusetts court on October 4, 1858 (XXXIII, 566), and a copy was deposited there on October 14. We have this copy (PS2262.A1.1858, copy 2), bearing on the first front end-leaf the indorsement of the clerk. I find no record of transfer to the Patent Office. Another copy (copy 3) has the green label indicating that it is the Library of Congress depository copy under the act of 1846, with the date of receipt October 25, 1858 (the register does not, however, come down so late), while a third copy (copy 1) has the Smithsonian Institution stamp on the title-page.

I have roughly estimated the entries in the records as 150,000, while only 23,070 volumes were turned over to the Library in 1870, representing the accumulated deposits of eighty years. The discrepancy surprised the authorities at that day, but is susceptible of explanation. In the first place, the entries are, in large part (as today), for articles other than books. Secondly, in many cases copyrighted items were never published. Thirdly, in many other cases the depository copy was never submitted, or, if deposited with the clerk of the court, never reached the Department of State or the Patent Office. Finally, there were inevitable losses in all these places, owing to a lack of per-



No 13

DISTRICT OF MAINE—TO WIT:

DISTRICT CLERK'S OFFICE

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty fifth day of May A.D. 1851. and in the eighty fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Mrs H. B. Stowe of said District, has deposited in this office, the title of a Book the right whereof he claims as title of which is in the words following, to wit:

"Uncle Toms Cabin, or Life among the Lowly. by Mrs H. B. Stowe."

The right whereof she claims as Author in conformity with an Act of Congress entitled "an Act to amend the several Acts respecting Copy Right"

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act, entitled "An Act supplementary to an act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and for extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

Copy deposited April 1. 1852

Wm. S. Forbes
Clerk of the District of Maine

No 14

DISTRICT OF MAINE—TO WIT:

DISTRICT CLERK'S OFFICE

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty fifth day of May A.D. 1851 and in the eighty fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Wm Hyde of said District, has deposited in this office, the title of a Book the right whereof he claims as title of which is in the words following, to wit:

"The Mother Rewarded and the Son Reclaimed: a Temperance Narrative
"Pray a hand that friendship plighted, Have I clasped with all delighted
"But more faithful none can be, Than my mother's hand to me. Montgomery
"Rutland: William Hyde & Son. 1807."

The right whereof he claims as Proprietor in conformity with an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to amend the several Acts respecting Copy Right"

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act, entitled "An Act supplementary to an act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and for extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

Copy deposited Oct 21. 1851

Wm. S. Forbes
Clerk of the District of Maine.

FACSIMILE OF THE REGISTRATION OF *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, SHOWING THE USE IN 1851 OF THE FORMS PRINTED IN 1790 AND ADAPTED FOR USE IN 1802 BY THE ADDITION OF THREE AND A HALF LINES OF PRINT

sonnel and space specifically devoted to the custody of the deposits, to war, to fire, and to the removals over a period of almost a century. Chiefly they were due, perhaps, to a lack of interest in the deposits as mere deposits of record. A conserving interest could have been expected only from a custodian to whom the records would also have been of *use*. For all these reasons, then, the transfer of 1870 represents but a fraction of the whole. And this argues that the whole, which is represented only by the records themselves, should be given publication as soon as possible. They are a national heritage.

COPYRIGHT RECORDS PRIOR TO 1870

I. REGISTERS OF COPYRIGHTS MAINTAINED BY THE CLERKS OF THE DISTRICT COURTS

A check list of the registers received by the Library of Congress is found on page 3 of a volume filed with the registers and entitled: *Librarian of Congress. Record No. 1. Miscellaneous Copyright.* Quotations in the following list are from this volume.

Bundles of unbound material are indicated by the abbreviation "unb."

California	San Francisco	1851–70	2 v.
		Assignments, 1854–70	1 v.
Colorado	Denver	1864–68	1 v.
Connecticut	Hartford	1804–70 (begins with No. 115)	4 v.
		Assignments	1 v.
Delaware	Wilmington	"Records w. Court Docket cannot be sent"	
District of Columbia	Washington	1845–70	2 v.
Georgia	Savannah	1845–70 (including separate volume for title-pages)	4 v.
	Atlanta	1848–70	1 v.
Illinois	Chicago	1821–70	7 v.
	Springfield	1855–70	1 v.
Indiana	Indianapolis	1822–70 (1841–53 wanting)	3 v.
Iowa	Dubuque	1868–70	1 v.

Kansas	Topeka	Nos. 1–43, 1865–69	unb.
Kentucky	Louisville	1860–70	1 v.
Louisiana	New Orleans	1835 (1 entry)	unb.
		1851–70 (1856–63 wanting)	2 v.
Maine	Portland	1790–1870	2 v.
Maryland	Baltimore	1831–70	6 v.
Massachusetts	Boston	1790–1870	45 v.
		Assignments, 1834–70	4 v.
Michigan	Detroit	1824–70	5 v.
	Grand Rapids	1863–70	2 v.
Minnesota	St. Paul	1858–70	2 v.
Mississippi	Jackson	1850–70	1 v.
Missouri	St. Louis	1857–70	2 v.
	Jefferson City	1857–70	1 v.
		Assignments	1 v.
Nebraska	Omaha	1868–70	1 v.
New Hampshire	Manchester	1848–70	2 v.
New Jersey	Trenton	1846–70	2 v.
New York	New York	1791–1870	112 v.
		Assignments, 1834–70	3 v.
	Buffalo	1813–70	16 v.
	Brooklyn	1865–70	2 v.
		Assignments, 1866–69	1 v.
North Carolina	Cape Fear (Wilmington)	1865–70	1 v.
Ohio	Cincinnati	1806–21, 1841–70	10 v.
		Assignments, 1843–63	1 v.
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	1790–1870	36 v.
		Assignments, 1834–70	2 v.
	Pittsburgh	1819–70	5 v.
	Erie	1868–70	1 v.
Rhode Island	Providence	1831–70	2 v.
Tennessee	Nashville	1865–70	1 v.
	Memphis	1865–70	1 v.

Texas	Galveston	1867–70	1 v.
Vermont	Burlington	1831–70	1 v.
Virginia	Richmond	1867–70 "Prior to 1865 destroyed in Richmond fire"	1 v.
	Norfolk	1837–70	1 v.
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	1848–70	1 v.

2. COPIES OF THE COURT RECORDS, AND LISTS OF THE RECORDS AND DEPOSITORY COPIES CERTIFIED BY THE CLERKS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, LATER THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

These consist, for the most part, of printed forms filled out by the clerks. Unless bound into volumes, these forms remain loose and unbound ("unb."), tied up in bundles.

Alabama	Montgomery	1857–58	unb.
	Mobile	1858–59	unb.
Arkansas	Little Rock	1837, 1842, 1847, 1854, 1859, 1860, 1865	unb.
Connecticut	Hartford	1836–53	2 v.
Delaware	Wilmington	1862–65	unb.
District of Columbia	Washington	1858–64, 1867–68, 1870	unb.
Illinois	Chicago	1861–70	unb.
	Springfield	1864–69	unb.
Indiana	Indianapolis	1853–66	unb.
Kentucky	Louisville	1859–69	unb.
Maine	Portland	1819–28, 1832–53	3 v.
		1857–69	unb.
Maryland	Baltimore	1831–53	2 v.
		1867–69	unb.
Massachusetts	Boston	1831–55	13 v.
		1856–70	unb.
Michigan	Detroit	1856–59, 1861–65, 1869	5 v.
		1870	unb.
		Lists, 1857–67	unb.
	Grand Rapids	1863–66	unb.

Minnesota	St. Paul	1858–62	unb.
Missouri	St. Louis	1856	unb.
	Jefferson City	1860, 1865–67	unb.
New Hampshire	Manchester	1857–58, 1869	unb.
New Jersey	Trenton	1863–68	unb.
New York	New York	1831–59	136 v.
		1859–68	unb.
		Indexes, 1831–53	2 v.
		Lists, etc.	unb.
	Buffalo	1853–60	3 v.
		1860–61	unb.
		Lists, 1855–[62]	unb.
Ohio	Cincinnati	1831–53	2 v.
		1859–70	unb.
	Cleveland	1859, 1861–68	unb.
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	1831–35, 1836–38, 1842–46, 1850–59, 1861–69	25 v.
		Index, 1831–53	2 v.
	Pittsburgh	1839–41	1 v.
		1859, 1863–69	unb.
Rhode Island	Providence	1831–53	1 v.
		1854–58, 1861–69	unb.
		Lists, 1859, 1865–66	unb.
South Carolina	Edenton	1856–59	unb.
Tennessee	Nashville	1848, 1854, 1857	unb.
	Knoxville	1858–60	unb.
Vermont	Burlington	1831–53	1 v.
Virginia	Richmond	1867–70	1 v.
	Norfolk	1858–59	unb.
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	1857, 1860–69	unb.

In addition to the foregoing there are 3 volumes and 2 binders containing miscellaneous copies and lists. Should these be sorted out, they would somewhat augment the list above.

3. RECORDS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Registers of copyrights received, 1796–1842 ..... 11 v.
Copyright returns. Records of the returns made by the clerks, 1853–68 ..... 1 v.

4. RECORDS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR (PATENT OFFICE)

Registers of copyrights received, 1859–70 ..... 3 v.
Index to copyrights ..... 1 v. (prodromus)
Letter book. Copyright correspondence of the Commissioner of Patents, 1859–70 ..... 1 v. (covers wanting)
Lists of books, prints, photographs, etc., cuttings of patterns, etc., *not* registered, taken for the Patent Office library ..... 1 v.

5. RECORDS OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Registers of copyrights received, 1846–52, 1865–70 ..... 2 v.

THE "KENTUCKY GAZETTE" AND JOHN BRADFORD ITS FOUNDER*

By SAMUEL M. WILSON

I BEGIN what I have to say with allusion to the fact that, on February 9, 1869, in this city, the Hon. Horatio Gates Jones delivered an address at the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of which he was then a vice-president, on "Andrew Bradford, Founder of the Newspaper Press in the Middle States of America." Six years earlier, the Hon. John William Wallace, of Philadelphia, then or afterward president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, delivered before the New York Historical Society, on May 20, 1863, an address commemorating the bi-centenary anniversary of the birthday of William Bradford, who introduced the art of printing into the middle colonies of British America. Both William Bradford and his son, Andrew Bradford, were intimately associated with the beginnings of printing in this city and commonwealth; and their story is, doubtless, familiar to each and all of you.

Today I venture to bring you a paper on another printer by the name of Bradford—John Bradford, of Kentucky. John Bradford was not only the first printer of the Blue Grass commonwealth, but he was also the founder of its first newspaper, the *Kentucke Gazette*.[1] The birth of printing and of a newspaper

* Read, December 30, 1937, at a meeting of the Society held in Philadelphia.

[1] The act of the Virginia General Assembly, enacted at its October session, 1776, and passed December 7, 1776 (9 *Hening's Statutes at Large of Virginia* 257, chap. xliv),

press in Kentucky were concurrent events, for the *Kentucke Gazette* was the first product of the printing art upon its introduction into the backwoods of Kentucky.

In this paper I shall not treat or attempt to treat my topic in any approved bibliographical mode or according to any technical or professional standard. Using such freedom as has been allowed to, or exercised by, certain of the lecturers under the Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography at the University of Pennsylvania, I claim only for the subject discussed that it is one that may fairly evoke the interest of bibliographers. Newspapers as a branch of bibliographical study have, within the past half-century, become increasingly prominent and important. The growing dependence of research workers upon newspaper sources for new or enlightening historical material has lifted the whole body of newspaper literature into a position of unprecedented dignity and usefulness.

So much has been done—and so ably done—to trace, locate, and make available the newspaper collections of the country; so much industry and skill have been expended to catalogue these collections, to show their geographical distribution and the particular periods to which they respectively relate, that it might seem presumptuous or ungracious to hint that even so large and fruitful an undertaking is susceptible of yet greater expansion and improvement. Yet I am persuaded that a gigan-

creating the County of Kentucky out of Fincastle County, as well as subsequent legislation by Virginia respecting the same region, uses the final *y* in the spelling of the name *Kentucky*. Nevertheless, in printing the title of his pioneer newspaper, John Bradford, for reasons best known to himself, seems to have preferred the spelling of the name with the final *e*, as it appears in John Filson's little history of 1784, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*. Hence, Bradford's newssheet, at its inception, bore the name *The Kentucke Gazette*. This spelling of the name, with the final *e*, was retained until and including the issue of March 7, 1789. In the next issue of March 14, 1789, and uniformly thereafter, the paper was entitled *The Kentucky Gazette*, in deference, no doubt, to the conventional spelling of the name *Kentucky*, which by that time had become well established. In the present paper, when spoken of generally, Bradford's newspaper is called *Kentucky Gazette;* but when issues prior to March 14, 1789, are intended, the name is given as *Kentucke Gazette*.

tic task, as yet practically untouched, awaits the bibliographers of the future. This task is none other than that of indexing and classifying the diversified subject matter of the newspaper files in our public and semipublic libraries. What is done and has always been done for books, magazines, and manuscripts must eventually be done for newspapers also. A step in this direction is noticeable in those newspapers of the present day which, in each issue, provide the reader with a table of contents. For newspapers of an earlier day, indexes, not of precisely the same pattern, but of an analogous pattern, will have to be prepared if their hidden treasures are to be made conveniently accessible and if much time and labor are to be saved for successive explorers of these mines of information concerning any one of innumerable topics.

This is a long preface to the restricted survey I am about to submit to you of a single newspaper, covering a very limited field. What I venture to propound here likewise relates to only a brief period in the life of this newspaper—the *Kentucky Gazette*—which had its birth at a time when few or none of the newspapers then existing in North America had approached maturity, in the modern sense, or had attained anything like the proportions of an average daily of the present age. As is true of so many other newspapers of the eighteenth century and of the opening decades of the past century, if we had nothing more than the advertisements to be found in the earliest files of the *Kentucky Gazette*, they would furnish an excellent clue to the social and economic life and occupations of the time. Yet, better than this, if one were to compile from its pages those contributions which revealed the intellectual activity and preoccupations of the time, such a compilation could not fail to present a more perfect picture of the contour and complexion of our pioneer civilization than any historian has yet been able to grasp or reproduce. Hugh Henry Brackenridge, for example, did something like this in connection with the *Pittsburgh*

Gazette the establishment of which he instigated and to the columns of which his fluent pen contributed many articles of varying merit. In 1806 he took note of what he had done and, pronouncing his work very good, undertook to transmute the ephemeral into the permanent by culling his effusions from the yellowing pages of the newspaper and reprinting them in book form under the title, *Gazette Publications*. To repeat such a performance on a large or unlimited scale with any given newspaper, whose life extended beyond a single decade, would be impracticable; and, in large measure, the result would probably be disappointing. But no such risk would be run by merely indexing or cataloguing, in some suitable analytical or descriptive fashion, the principal contents of each successive volume of a series.

The transition in newspaper bibliography, which I would advocate, is the same transition which anciently took place with respect to books. For the original lists of books, we have today a nation-wide listing of newspapers, which is slowly approaching perfection. But subject bibliography, as applied to books, has not yet been adequately applied to newspapers. Modern bibliography began, of course, with the invention of printing, in the middle of the fifteenth century; or rather, bibliography, as we now understand it, was a gradual outgrowth of the printing and multiplication of books. There are bibliographies and bibliographies. They vary, as you know, all the way from an abbreviated list of short titles to an elaborately annotated and critical appraisal of volume after volume, classified according to author, subject matter, scope, style, etc. Something midway between these two extremes, it seems to me, would amply suffice for a good working index of any of the noteworthy journalistic productions of the first hundred and fifty years of our history. We all know what a dictionary, an encyclopedia, and a concordance are, and how indispensable they are; and, if an index, as someone has said, is the soul of a book, we must devise

some equally potent instrument to lay bare the innermost secrets of our mountainous mass of newspapers.

In making these preliminary remarks, I realize that I speak as an amateur and under the limitations that necessarily circumscribe and minimize any suggestions of the nonprofessional commentator; but, while nothing I may say can, by any possibility, be taken as authoritative, yet those who are qualified by study, training, or experience to pronounce decisively upon the subject can effectually dispose of it by advising whether the proposal is practicable and whether it be desirable or otherwise. All I can state with certainty is that, with such a bibliography of newspapers as that I have indicated, much lost time and much wasted effort would have been avoided in my own personal investigations for some nonexistent needle supposed to be hidden away in the haystack of voluminous newspaper collections.

The city of Philadelphia, in which we are assembled, has been well named "the city of firsts." In this year (1937), which marks the sesquicentennial of the formation of the federal Constitution and of the passage by the Continental Congress of the ordinance for the establishment and government of the Northwest Territory, public attention has been particularly directed to the participation and pre-eminence of Philadelphia in many of those "first things" which constituted the beginnings of the American republic. For more than a few reasons, which will readily occur to all students of our country's history, this former capital of the province founded by the benevolent and broad-minded William Penn, well deserves the appellation of "Keystone City of the Keystone State."

Coeval with the momentous events which transpired here a century and a half ago were certain noteworthy happenings which were taking place to the westward, beyond the mountains, in a region far remote from this advanced center of commerce, culture, and civilization. For that distant frontier an

event, scarcely less important in its subsequent influence than Virginia's cession of the Northwest Territory and the provisions made for its organization and government, was the introduction of the art of printing and the establishment of two newspapers, one at Pittsburgh and the other at Lexington, Kentucky. Pittsburgh and Lexington were both west of the Alleghenies but not equidistant therefrom. Pittsburgh was at the forks of the Ohio River, whereas Lexington was south and considerably west of these forks. A press was set in motion, and the first issue of a newspaper—the *Pittsburgh Gazette*—was produced at Pittsburgh on July 29, 1786. Another press was put to work, and the first issue of another newspaper—the *Kentucke Gazette*—was brought forth at Lexington on August 11, 1787. Neither of these occurrences was sudden or spontaneous in its incidence; both signalized the culmination of a prolonged period of incubation and preparation for the desired achievement.

In his interesting and valuable book, *Pittsburgh's Post-Gazette*, published last year (1936), Dr. J. Cutler Andrews, of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, of Pittsburgh, has furnished us a lively and authoritative account of the founding of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in the midsummer of 1786 and has traced the history of that pioneer newspaper throughout its unbroken existence of a hundred and fifty years. On the other hand, the old original *Kentucky Gazette*, of Lexington, was not published continuously for much more than sixty years, and its history has never been fully written. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* seems to have been preserved from extinction in its later years by consolidation with other newspapers, whereas the *Kentucky Gazette* was never merged with any other newspaper publication. One or two minor sheets were absorbed by it, but its own distinctive identity and individuality suffered no impairment in the process.

Because of the somewhat close relationship, during the period of their infancy, between these two pioneer *Gazettes* of the Ohio Valley, and because of the fact that the presses, type, paper,

and equipment used in the manufacture of each of them were procured from Philadelphia or its immediate vicinity, it seems not unfitting that, at this time and in this place, something should be said concerning the *Kentucky Gazette* and its origination in Lexington three half-centuries ago.

Like nearly all our history of that early formative stage in the development of American enterprises and institutions, the record of the known is darkened or obscured by the shadows of the unknown; and historians of the present day are chiefly occupied in trying, by wider and more intensive research, to dispel the darkness and clear up the obscurities which becloud the face of an otherwise unimpaired record. These general observations may better prepare you for certain revelations I shall make concerning facts connected with the founding of the *Kentucke Gazette* which are as yet unknown, as well as concerning other facts which are indisputably established.

The beginnings of printing in Kentucky and the publication of Kentucky's first newspaper, which was coincident with those beginnings, cannot be rightly understood without taking some account of the man by whom both press and newspaper were founded. To anyone acquainted with the history of printing in the middle British colonies of America it is a circumstance pregnant with suggestion that the founder of the pioneer press of Kentucky bore the name Bradford—John Bradford. In times past, hasty and unwarranted surmises were drawn from the fact that the surname of Kentucky's first printer was identical with that of the two celebrated founders of printing and the newspaper press in the middle colonies. It was erroneously assumed that John Bradford, of Lexington, was either a descendant or a collateral relative of William and Andrew Bradford. No such relationship has been proved. It was, also, erroneously assumed that John Bradford, of Lexington, was himself a printer and had come of a family of printers. This supposition is not only without any support in the accumulated evidence

but is contradicted by the evidence. Before John Bradford actually produced the first issue of the *Kentucke Gazette*, on August 11, 1787, it is true he had to acquire some proficiency in the setting of type, in the manipulation of the sheets of paper, and in the operation of a hand press, such as was then in universal use; but such skill as he could command was all of his own unaided cultivation. By dint of a certain natural aptitude and native ingenuity, John Bradford, under the spur of ambition and the pressure of necessity, became what Humphrey Marshall, one of our Kentucky historians, has called a "self-taught printer." The greater is the marvel and the weightier is the credit of his pioneer accomplishment.

Briefly let us note what manner of man John Bradford was. He was born on June 6, 1749, in Prince William County, Virginia, and probably in that part of Prince William which, ten years after his birth, was set off and erected into the county of Fauquier. Hence, he is commonly spoken of as a native of Fauquier County. He was the second child and eldest son of Daniel Bradford, who in 1745 married Alice Morgan, a daughter of Charles Morgan, by whom he had eleven children. Daniel Bradford was himself the eldest child of a certain John Bradford, who is said to have been born in or about the year 1680 and who, in 1710 or thereabouts, married Mrs. Mary Kincart (or Kincourt), whose maiden name was Marr. To this union were born nine children, the first-born, Daniel, being the father of John Bradford, the printer and publisher. The birthplace of John Bradford, paternal grandfather of the John Bradford with whom we are here particularly concerned, is not certainly known; but Hotten's *Lists of Emigrants*, at pages 465–66, has certain entries which may or may not give a clue to the ancestry in question. These entries show that "John, ye Sonne of John Bradford, was baptized January 26, 1678/79, in ye parish of St. George's, in ye Island of Barbados." Many of the earliest settlers of Virginia and Maryland came to those colonies via the

Barbados or other islands of the West Indies; and Barbados may have been the landfall of the original immigrant ancestor of John Bradford, of Lexington.

The name Bradford is an honorable one in English and American history; but it is sufficient for present purposes to refer only to those persons bearing the name who, by possibility, may anciently have sprung from a common stock. William Bradford, who first introduced printing into Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, was a son of William and Anne Bradford, of Leicestershire, England, where the printer was born on May 20, 1663. Another important Bradford family is that of Major John Bradford, of Maryland. From his will, dated March 26, 1726, and probated May 11, 1726, it appears that he then lived in Prince George's County, Maryland, and that his father, John Bradford, Sr., lived in Leicestershire, England, the same county from which the Pennsylvania Bradfords had come. The wife of John Bradford, the Maryland testator of 1726, was Joyce Bradford; and he left an only son, John Bradford, Jr., who was under age at his father's death. In the will of Charles Carroll, of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, dated December 1, 1718, and probated July 28, 1720, the testator mentions Joyce Bradford as a "kinswoman" and Major John Bradford as his "cousin." Between these Bradfords of Prince George's County, Maryland, and the Bradfords of Stafford, Prince William, and Fauquier counties, Virginia, there existed fairly close physical proximity, since Stafford County, formed in 1666, and the counties of Prince William and Fauquier, which were derived from Stafford, were separated from Prince George's County, Maryland, only by the Potomac River. It is highly probable that the Maryland Bradfords were descended from the same Leicestershire family as were William and Andrew Bradford, of Pennsylvania; and while, with our present defective knowledge, it can be nothing more than an uncertain conjecture, yet I incline to believe that these Maryland and Virginia families were

related, and, if so, then there is reason to think that John Bradford of Kentucky, came from the same original stock as the Bradford printers of Pennsylvania.

In 1771 John Bradford married Eliza James, a daughter of Captain Benjamin James, of Fauquier County, Virginia; and he seems to have first visited Kentucky in the latter part of the year 1779. He was at Bryan's Station, at Harrodsburg, and, probably, at Lexington, in January, 1780, and some time later took up land and settled on Cane Run, about five miles northeast of Lexington. He served in the expedition of July and August, 1780, under Clark and Logan against the Indian towns of Chillicothe and Piqua, north of the Ohio. From a statement made by Joseph Ficklin, an early postmaster of Lexington, who was well acquainted with Bradford, it appears that John Bradford returned to his home in Virginia and, on July 23, 1781, was sworn in as an ensign of the militia of Fauquier County. He came back to Kentucky, says Ficklin, in 1782 and stayed at or near Bryan's Station. After the formation of Fayette County in 1780 and the arrival, in the fall of 1782, of Colonel Thomas Marshall, as surveyor of that county, John Bradford served for a time as a deputy under him. In 1783 he ran as a candidate for representative from Fayette County to the Virginia legislature but was defeated by John Fowler, the successful candidate. About this time or a year or two later, he seems to have brought his family to Kentucky and to have installed them in his log cabin or "clapboard castle" on Cane Run. From the records of the board of trustees of Lexington it appears that, shortly after John Bradford took up his residence in the vicinity of Lexington, he laid claim to the site of the town; for by a resolution of the board of trustees, adopted on August 9, 1785, Colonel Robert Patterson, one of the trustees was ordered to enter a caveat against the claim of John Bradford to said town and was authorized to draw on Mr. Robert Parker, clerk and treasurer of the trustees, for that purpose and

to contract with one or more attorneys to appear and defend the suit against said trustees. On the trial of the case before the Supreme Court for the then District of Kentucky the jury returned a verdict adverse to the plaintiff, and an effectual quietus was thereby put on Bradford's broad and startling claim. This assertion of title to the townsite of Lexington, however, was not the only instance in which John Bradford became enamored of choice parcels of virgin land. Like all his contemporaries, he was filled with an overmastering land-hunger; and, as the records show, he was keen and persistent in his efforts to acquire ownership of tempting tracts in the fertile Blue Grass region. The inevitable result was that he became involved in numerous lawsuits over conflicting claims to land. Ten or a dozen suits in which he was a litigant were carried to the Kentucky Court of Appeals. These suits now are chiefly of interest for the historical evidence they developed and preserved respecting the early settlement of the country.

Under the constitution of 1792, Kentucky's first constitution, John Bradford was chosen one of the nine electors from Fayette County for electing a state senator, Robert Todd being their choice. In 1797 and again in 1802 he was elected a representative from Fayette to the legislature. In 1812 he was a candidate for the office of lieutenant-governor, running a bad fourth to Richard Hickman, who was elected. He served frequently as one of the magistrates of the county of Fayette; and at the time of his death, on March 21, 1830, he was high sheriff of the county. He was one of the early trustees of Transylvania University, and for a long time chairman of the board. He frequently served as one of the town trustees of Lexington and chairman of that board. Also, he was one of the founders of the Lexington Library (originally called "Transylvania Library"), organized in 1795, and often served as one of its trustees or managers; and he was one of the incorporators of the Fayette Hospital, now the Eastern State Hospital, originally projected in 1816, which

was the first institution of its kind established in the western country and the second state asylum opened in the United States. John Bradford was a member of Christ Church of Lexington; and in 1808, with others of that communion, he helped to organize the Episcopal Society into a parish.

Our chief concern on this occasion, however, is not with the details of his life but more especially with his role as the first printer of Kentucky, as the founder and editor of its first newspaper, and as the publisher of a long list of books, pamphlets, circulars, almanacs, broadsides, and the like.

The need of a printing plant in Kentucky became obvious to the pioneer settlers some ten years after the beginnings of the first permanent settlement were made at Harrodsburg on June 16, 1774. This need and a demand for its satisfaction were voiced in the first Kentucky convention, held at Danville, on December 30, 1784, exactly one hundred and fifty-three years ago. The sentiment in favor of a printer and a printing-press took form in the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That the freedom of the Press is highly subserviant to Civil Liberty and therefore such measures ought to be taken as may be most likely to encourage the introduction of a Printer into the District.

No immediate steps to procure either a press or a printer appear to have been taken by this convention, but in two subsequent conventions the subject was revived and prosecuted more vigorously. Concerning what was done, John Bradford himself has left us two or three accounts. Writing in the *Kentucky Gazette* of January 4, 1797, the seasoned editor said:

> As the circumstances which at first gave birth to this paper are unknown to the greater part of its present patrons, it may not be disagreeable to any of them to take a retrospective view of its origin and progress as well as the motives that first induced me to undertake the business of a printer.
>
> In the year 1786, whilst a Convention of the citizens of Kentucky, by their Delegates, were deliberating on the propriety of separating from the State of Virginia, the want of a proper channel through which to communicate to the people at large political sentiments on a subject so extremely interesting to them, and in which unanimity was so very necessary, induced them to

appoint a Committee of their own body, to encourage a printer to settle in the District. The critical situation in which the District of Kentucky was at that time placed, by being surrounded on every side by a cruel and savage foe, and which almost put an entire stop to emigration, consequently to the influx of a sufficient circulating medium, occasioned a belief that no encouragement could be given by the Committee that would procure a printer to remove to Kentucky: This belief was much strengthened by an unsuccessful attempt which had been made by sundry gentlemen, to procure a Mr. Miles Hunter (a Printer) to settle in this country, who refused, unless he could have secured to him certain stipulated emoluments to continue for a given time, which they would not venture to promise.

Having duly weighed all the circumstances, and from a confidence in my own mechanical talents (notwithstanding I had not the least knowledge of the printing business), together with a belief that I could execute the business on a small scale until I should be able to instruct my sons (of which I had five), added to the prospect of future advantages to them and myself, I was prompted to make a tender of my services to the Committee.—They accepted them, and made report thereof to the Convention, who concurred with the Committee, and as the highest mark of approbation, gave me their unanimous promise of patronage.

Satisfied of having obtained every encouragement that I had a right to expect, or that they as a body had power to grant, and in which I had the fullest confidence, I employed every possible means in my power to perform the engagements made on my part, and on the 11th day of August, 1787, presented to the world, the first number of the Kentucky Gazette. It is impossible to express the grateful sensations I experienced at the approbation with which it was received by its patrons; notwithstanding its almost innumerable imperfections—what a striking difference between that paper and the one now before you!

Thirty years later, when the snows of advancing age had begun to descend upon him, the veteran journalist again returned to the subject of how and why he had founded the *Gazette*. This account is found in the *Kentucky Gazette* of March 2, 1827. While it repeats the substance of what had been said before, a few additional facts are disclosed. Said the aged editor:

To ensure unanimity in the opinions of the people, respecting the propriety of separating the District of Kentucky from the State of Virginia, and forming a separate government, by exhibiting to public view the situation in which the country was placed, both as it regarded its then perilous condition, as well as its future prospects; to give general publicity to the proceedings of the Convention, etc., it was deemed essential to the interests of the country that

it should be furnished with a printing press. To accomplish this end, the Convention, in their session of 1785, appointed Gen. James Wilkinson, Colonel Christopher Greenup and Mr. John Coburn a committee to use their best endeavors to induce a printer to settle in the country and publish a weekly newspaper. Wilkinson and Coburn applied by letter to Mr. John Dunlap of Philadelphia to aid them in procuring a printer, but as no assurance of a competent salary could be given by the committee, no printer could be obtained in Philadelphia. Col. Greenup wrote to a Mr. Miles Hunter in Richmond, Va., a young printer of that place. From the flattering prospects held out by the Colonel of future advantages to the printer, who should first establish himself in Kentucky, Mr. Hunter at first consented to remove to Kentucky, but being afterwards informed of the many difficulties likely to intervene before Kentucky would become a separate state and the uncertainty of a competent support from the printing business, until that event should take place, [he] declined altogether.

The attempts of the committee having failed entirely, Mr. John Bradford, then a resident of Fayette county, called on Gen. Wilkinson and informed him that if the Convention would give any assurance that he should enjoy public patronage when the printing business should become so profitable as to induce one or more printers to settle in Kentucky, that he would, as soon as an office could be procured, establish a newspaper in Kentucky. The reasonableness of this proposition induced the committee in their report to recommend to the Convention to accede to it, in consequence of which the Convention, at their session in 1786, when the committee reported, passed a resolution concurring in the report, and promising the patronage required, as far as they, from the nature of the appointment, were authorized. In consequence of this resolution, Mr. Bradford sent immediately to Pittsburgh, where he procured a printing press and other materials for a small printing establishment, and in the month of August, 1787, presented to the world the first number of the KENTUCKE GAZETTE.

For a contemporary account of the founding of Bradford's press and newspaper we must go back to the second issue of the *Kentucke Gazette*, of August 18, 1787. In an article entitled "The Printer of the *Kentucke Gazette* to the Public," it is there stated:

After having expended much in procuring the materials and conveying them from Philadelphia, I have ventured to open a Printing Office in the Town of Lexington in the District of Kentucke. Notwithstanding these expences and that of procuring farther supplies of paper for my business, and of supporting necessary hands, I shall content myself at present with the prospect of small gains. I consider this country as being yet in an infant state, harassed by the most savage enemies, having no profitable trade and

being drained of money by its present intercourse with the Eastern parts of America. However, the exertions made by a great number of Gentlemen in favour of the press convinces me that a Spirit prevails among my countrymen superior to their present circumstances. I am satisfied that every possible encouragement will be given to my present undertaking. . .

Indeed it was upon a promise of patronage from the Convention in 1785 that induced me first to attempt what I have now accomplished. I therefore rest satisfied that all my Countrymen will be sensible of my claim to their notice as the first adventurer in a business which has been chiefly instrumental in bringing mankind from a state of blindness and slavery to their present advancement in knowledge and freedom.

Further light on the origin of Kentucky's first newspaper and of its pioneer press comes to us from an interview with Fielding Bradford which took place some time between 1840 and 1850. Fielding Bradford was a younger brother of John Bradford, who had been associated with him as co-partner for several months in the conduct of the *Kentucke Gazette*, from August, 1787, until the end of May, 1788. In this interview, as reported by the Rev. Dr. John D. Shane (Draper MSS, 13 CC 211), Fielding Bradford, then about seventy-five years of age, said:

McCullough (i.e. Samuel D. McCullough, an early resident of Lexington) said I brought out wooden type, which was not so. Type was brought down from Pittsburgh. Bought it of John Scull, who printed the first paper then printed west of the Alleghany Mountains. Was there in 1786, but not before, I know. I first came west in 1785. I was in Pittsburgh 3 months, in the spring of 1787, from March to June 1.

The paper started in August, 1787. Thomas Parvin was the first person who worked in the office that had served a regular apprenticeship to the business. He had learned with William Bradford, of Philadelphia, the same person whom Dr. Franklin learned with. Parvin taught school in Lexington after he quit the printing business, and finally moved to Bourbon [County], where he died.

Concerning the first issue of the *Kentucke Gazette*, of August 11, 1787, George W. Ranck, in his *History of Lexington*, published in 1872, says at page 125:

It was a quaint little brown thing, about the size of a half sheet of common letter paper, (or foolscap paper) "subscription price 18 shillings per annum, advertisements of moderate length 3 shillings." It was printed in the old style —*f* being used for *s*. The first number is without a heading, and contains one

advertisement, two short original articles, and the following apology from the editor:

"My customers will excuse this, my first publication, as I am much hurried to get an impression by the time appointed. A great part of the types fell into pi in the carriage of them from Limestone [Maysville] to this office, and my partner, which is the only assistant I have, through an indisposition of the body, has been incapable of rendering the smallest assistance for ten days past.

JOHN BRADFORD."

This reminds us of a statement found in Franklin's *Autobiography* (p. 176), as follows:

One night, when, having impos'd my forms, I thought my day's work over, one of them by accident was broken, and two pages reduced to *pi*. I immediately distributed and compos'd it over again before I went to bed.

In a news story published in the Danville (Kentucky) *Olive Branch* a short time after John Bradford's death and reprinted in the *Kentucky Gazette* of April 2, 1830, the writer, Dr. J. J. Polk, who stated he had known Bradford for many years, said of him:

Although not himself a printer by profession, and never having been in a Printing Office, he set the type and pressed off the sheets himself, for several months, without any assistance or instruction.

Undoubtedly John Bradford was his own first printer, even though but self-taught. His confidence in his native ingenuity and mechanical talents was fully justified. In the interview of 1840–50, reported by Dr. Shane and previously mentioned, Fielding Bradford made these references to the subject:

Ned West had the first steamboat ever invented, and ran it across a mill-pond in the neighborhood of Lexington. He and my brother John, being from the same part of the country, were very intimate. They sought a great while for perpetual motion. They made some wooden types. The first I saw or knew of them was from a handbill, which was stuck up in Paris, as I came on back from Virginia.

In Zadok Cramer's *Navigator* of 1811 will be found this note:

Mr. John Bradford, Senior, is about erecting a machinery for spinning ropes by the power of steam, the plan of which he is the inventor. Mr. Bradford's mechanical genius is very considerable, and his labours in this way have been

highly useful to the citizens of the town. He established a press in Lexington about twenty-two [24] years ago, the second in the western country, many of the types for which he carved out of wood.

Several of John Bradford's sons, under the instruction of their father, became practical printers, journalists, and publishers. Daniel Bradford, one of his older sons, took over entire control of the *Kentucky Gazette* with the issue of April 2, 1802, and continued in sole charge of it until October 3, 1809, when it passed into other hands. After several changes in the ownership and management of the paper, John Bradford himself again became its proprietor and editor in 1825 and so continued from April 28, 1825, to June 29, 1827, inclusive.

The family of Bradford was connected with other Kentucky newspapers besides the *Kentucky Gazette*. On November 7, 1795, John's eldest son, Benjamin James Bradford, brought out the *Kentucky Journal* at Frankfort, but it was little more than a reprint of the *Kentucky Gazette* under a different name and place of publication. In 1798 John Bradford and his son James M. Bradford, established the *Guardian of Freedom* in Frankfort. It continued in existence until 1806. In 1802 John Bradford acquired the *Kentucky Herald*, of Lexington, which had been launched by Thomas H. Stewart on or about February 17, 1795, as *Stewart's Kentucky Herald*. In 1805 this newssheet was absorbed by the *Kentucky Gazette*.

On January 5, 1820, Daniel Bradford, son of John, began publication of the *Lexington Public Advertiser*. In his salutatory "To the Public," Daniel Bradford declared that one of the motives which prompted him to attempt a newspaper in Lexington at the time was "to gratify a propensity he had long entertained to see the name of the town, which fostered his early years, engrafted in the title of a respectable public print." To this he added that

a residence of more than thirty years in Lexington, eight of which were devoted to the editorial department of the *Kentucky Gazette*, rendered it un-

necessary that the Editor should now declare his political principles to be *Republican;* the columns of that paper will furnish better evidence of this fact than any declaration he can now make.

Other emphatic pledges were given, and with this announcement the *Lexington Public Advertiser* entered upon its brief career of about five years' duration.

With the issue of May 12, 1821, however, Daniel Bradford withdrew his interests in the enterprise and turned the proprietorship over to his father, John Bradford. The issue of May 12, 1821, of this paper has not been located. In the following issue, that of May 16, 1821, John Bradford addressed the following announcement to his new patrons:

Unwilling that a paper which has every appearance of becoming extensively useful, should be abandoned for the want of pecuniary aid; as well as to enable the former editor to discharge some of the debts necessarily incurred in the establishment and prosecution of this paper; (and not from a wish, at his time of life, to enter on the duties of an editor), has induced the subscriber to become the proprietor of the LEXINGTON PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

If age, experience, and a firm attachment to genuine American principles;—If to have aided the American Revolution by personal services;—If to have been amongst the first to settle and defend the western country;—If to have been the first who established a printing press in Kentucky;—And to have sacrificed the most of the hard earnings of many years, in attempts to contribute to the permanent independence of Kentucky, by establishing the manufacture of cotton, wool, and flour, are all, or either of them recommendations, the subscriber flatters himself, that the *Lexington Public Advertiser* will, under his superintendence, receive at least, an equal share of public patronage, and that he will shortly see his subscription list enriched with the names of those remaining worthies, who have with him, shared the dangers of the American revolution; or who have braved the tomahawk and scalping knife of the ruthless savage, as well as the difficulties and privations, necessarily incurred in the first settlement and defence of the Western country.

JOHN BRADFORD.

May 12, 1821.

This autobiographical note sums up succinctly the high lights of three score years and ten in the earthly pilgrimage of the aging pioneer editor. He might have said more for himself, but he could hardly have said less.

The *Lexington Public Advertiser* suspended publication in 1825, and in that same year John Bradford resumed editorial control of the *Kentucky Gazette*, a position he retained for two years. His return to the helm of the *Kentucky Gazette*, the child of his youth and his first love, illustrates the saying that printer's ink is like poison ivy: if you once get it on your fingers, you can never get it off.

In the inventory of the estate of John Bradford there is a single short reference to his newspapers. It is in these words: "Kentucky Gazette, Advertiser, &c., 180 [bundles] . . . $18.00." What became of these accumulated files is not positively known. Certainly they were not preserved intact; and a large portion, if not all, of them must have perished. Fragments of them may have found their way into the Lexington Public Library, for the earlier files it now has are largely traceable to John Bradford. Think of the valuation placed upon these old papers in 1830 and what they would be worth now! My friend, Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, of the American Antiquarian Society, will certainly be amazed to find how newspaper values have mounted since Kentucky's pioneer printer passed away a little more than a century ago; and what would he not give to have those old files just as John Bradford left them!

The importance of Lexington as a literary and publishing center, during the five decades from 1787 to 1837, may be shown by mention of certain events within that period in which John Bradford had a leading part. It may interest the members of the Bibliographical Society to know that more than a hundred and thirty years ago an effort was made in Lexington, under the sponsorship of John Bradford, to organize what nowadays would be called a "press association."

John Clyde Oswald, in his book, *Printing in the Americas*, which appeared within the present year (1937), says: "There was held in New York in June, 1802, the first American Literary

Fair. . . The second meeting was held in Philadelphia in December, 1802"; and so on. He adds: "No American Literary Fair, so far as is known, was held after 1806."

Oswald also says:

In the same year [1805] there was published in the newspapers of Lexington, Kentucky, an announcement that the printers and booksellers of the western country would meet on the first Wednesday of October to form an association, but no further information was furnished and whether or not the project was consummated is not known.

But upon reference to the files of the *Kentucky Gazette* we find, in the issue of July 30, 1805, the following announcement:

A meeting of the Printers and Booksellers in the Western Country, will be held in the town of Lexington, on the first Wednesday in October next. The object of this meeting is, to take such measures as may be thought most advisable, to form an association among the Printers and Booksellers, similar to the Literary Fair in the Atlantic States, thereby to facilitate the publication and interchange of works of merit. The attendance of all those concerned in the above branches of business is requested.

. . . The different Editors of News-papers in the Western Country are requested to give the above an insertion.

The issue of the *Gazette* for October 7, 1805, contains this report of the meeting which had been called in the issue of July 30, 1805:

At a meeting of a number of the Printers and Book-sellers in the states of Kentucky and Ohio, at Lexington, on Wednesday the second day of October, 1805, agreeable to notice given in the newspapers in the Western States, John Bradford was chosen President, and T. Anderson Secretary.

Resolved, That William Hunter, Joseph Carpenter, N. Willis and Dan'l Bradford, be a committee to draft a Constitution for the government of the Association, and report the same to the next meeting thereof, which is directed to be held at Lexington on the first Monday in January next.

The editors of newspapers in the Western Country are requested to insert the above.

By Order of the Meeting.
T. Anderson, *Secretary.*

As the avowed object of the Association of Printers &c. is to facilitate the publication and interchange of works of merit, and as the Printers in the Western Country are mutually concerned in the business, it is to be hoped due attendance will be given at the time and place mentioned above. The advan-

tages that will accrue to the Members of the Association individually, as well as to the Western Country generally, it is expected will be considerable; and men must be insensible to their own interest, and regardless of the public good, to let a concurrence in the adage, *what is everybody's business, is nobody's*, prevent them from participating [in] the benefits of the institution, and assisting to bring it into use. Some gentlemen of experience, talents and wealth, have intimated that they contemplate entering extensively into the business of book-printing, and other persons of less experience and wealth, have professed an ardent desire for the plan to be carried into effect. It is hoped that the next meeting will be attended by the printers in the western country generally; and that private animosity (if any should exist) will be buried in oblivion.

No further mention of any subsequent meeting of this "Association of Printers &c." has been discovered; and it is feared that the well-conceived project soon expired for the lack of energetic co-operation. Nevertheless, it furnishes a striking illustration of the vigor, versatility, and vision of John Bradford.

This paper is sufficiently tedious without weighting it down with tiresome details concerning the progressive changes in the ownership and editorial policy and in the form, contents, and appearance of the *Kentucky Gazette* throughout the six decades of its existence. Any analysis of the variegated matter which, week by week, appeared in the columns of the *Gazette* would likewise serve only to inflate the size of this paper beyond all reasonable bounds. We take time merely to mention the facts that the *Kentucke Gazette* began its career five weeks before the Constitutional Convention of 1787 had completed its labors and that, on October 20, 1787, in the eleventh issue of the *Kentucke Gazette*, the first instalment of the new Constitution was printed. This first instalment embraced the Preamble and first three articles of the Constitution and bore the heading, "From the Pittsburgh Gazette." The remainder of the document was published in two instalments, under the heading, "Constitution of the American States," one appearing in the issue of October 27, 1787, and the other in the issue of November 3, 1787. The Constitution, as thus published, was unaccompanied by any

comment, criticism, or remark of any kind whatever. In the Virginia convention of the following year, however, it may be interesting to note that, of the fourteen delegates from the District of Kentucky, only three voted in favor of ratification. This unfavorable attitude on the part of the Kentuckians is easy of explanation, but that story must be reserved for another occasion.

The problem of immediate concern to the writer is of a threefold nature. First of all, we would know, if possible, precisely where and by whom the type, press, paper, ink, and other supplies and equipment of John Bradford's pioneer printing office were manufactured and where they came from. Especially would we like to know from whom the amateur printer and publisher purchased his press and its accessories, his fonts of type, and his rolls or packages of paper. To these questions a general and approximate answer can be given, but definite and exact information respecting them is lacking. It is certain that the entire outfit came to Lexington from Pittsburgh, where it appears to have been rehandled or forwarded by John Scull, of the *Pittsburgh Gazette;* and it seems almost equally certain that it originated in Philadelphia. Back of the entire transaction stands the fact that by far the largest part of the merchandising business of Lexington, in its early days, was carried on with or through Philadelphia merchants. Philadelphia was the chief source of supply. Hence, we think it may safely be inferred that the precious shipment was procured from shops or dealers located somewhere in Philadelphia or its vicinity and was dispatched by them to the consignee in Lexington, via Pittsburgh. But how may it now be determined from whom these important purchases were made, and where and by whom the several articles comprising the shipment were actually fabricated? John Bradford himself has left us no explicit statement on these points, and all his papers pertaining to the subject have long since been destroyed. Are any of the records or account books of

the printers, press-builders, type-founders, and paper-makers of Philadelphia and its near-by tributary towns of the period from 1785 to 1790 still in existence and available for inspection? If there could be found here some such memorials as Horace Walpole's *Journal of the Printing Office at Strawberry Hill* (Chiswick Press, 1923), the prospect of clearing up the obscure points in question would be greatly enhanced, for only from such written records does it seem likely that we shall ever obtain satisfactory answers to the queries here propounded.

So far as I know, the most explicit and reliable account of early printing-presses manufactured in America is that furnished by Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth in his book *The Colonial Printer*, published by the Grolier Club in 1931. Concerning the manufacture of printing-presses, Dr. Wroth, at page 67 of the work mentioned, says that in 1775 presses were being manufactured in Philadelphia and in Hartford, Connecticut, and soon afterward in various American cities. John Willis and Henry Vogt, of Philadelphia, seem to have been the first to employ their talents in this way. At page 68, Wroth says: "At the very close of the century, the Ramage Press came to the attention of the trade," and "The name of Adam Ramage appears in the Philadelphia City Directory for the first time in the year 1800, and, in this year, his name is found for the first time also in the accounts of Matthew Carey." Again, at page 53, Wroth says: "It was not until some time between 1795 and 1800, that Adam Ramage came from Scotland to take up his residence and trade in Philadelphia." At page 65 (quoting Isaiah Thomas) Wroth says that Christopher Sower (Sauer), the Elder, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, made his own presses as early as 1750, but Wroth thinks it unlikely he made presses for other people. At page 83 Wroth says that Benjamin Franklin, in 1785, set up his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, as a type-founder in Philadelphia with an equipment purchased in France; and at pages 85 and 86, Wroth says, after discussing

the venture of Abel Buell, of Connecticut, in 1769, that type-founding began in Germantown (Pennsylvania) "about the year 1770," when Christopher Sower, Jr., assisted by Justus Fox and Jacob Bay, cast a large quantity of German letter for the third edition of his Bible. Sower's assistants, Fox and Bay, learned to cast roman letter, and from the year 1775 the making of type in America centered about Philadelphia.

There can be no serious doubt that the printing-press used by John Scull in Pittsburgh and the printing-press brought to Lexington from Pittsburgh by the Bradfords were both of the old-fashioned wooden make.

In Dr. Andrews' history of *Pittsburgh's Post-Gazette*, heretofore mentioned, it is stated that the printing-press first used by John Scull was brought from Philadelphia and that this first press was "a small wooden hand machine, fashioned by Adam Ramage, perhaps the most celebrated of the early American press makers, and purchased from Andrew Brown, Proprietor of the *Philadelphia Federal Gazette*." If, however, Dr. Wroth's statements are correct, as they doubtless are, it can hardly be true that John Scull bought a Ramage Press; and, of course, there is no pretense that Bradford's press was of the Ramage manufacture. Dr. Andrews' positive assertion that Scull purchased his press from Andrew Brown still leaves open the question as to where Brown himself obtained the press which he sold to Scull. My guess is that both the press first used by Scull and the press first used by Bradford were manufactured either in Philadelphia or in Germantown, and it is my further guess that the type used by both men was probably cast at Germantown, although Dr. Andrews neglects to tell us where the type first used by John Scull came from or by whom it was cast.

It has been stated, but upon what original authority I do not know, that the first printing-press used by John Bradford in Lexington was a secondhand press, sometimes erroneously described as a "Washington" press. If we could be sure that

this statement is correct, we would be led to suspect that Bradford bought a used press from Scull, which Scull replaced with a new one for his own plant. But this, after all, is merely a speculative and somewhat hazardous guess.

In the third issue of the *Kentucke Gazette*, of August 25, 1787, Jacob Myers, who had come to Kentucky from Philadelphia and, with speculative intent, had invested heavily in Kentucky lands, announced that he had begun the erection of a paper mill on a branch of Dick's River, a tributary of the Kentucky; and he called upon the inhabitants of the district for rags, to be converted into paper when his plant should be completed in the ensuing November. Apparently, surplus rags were none too plentiful in Kentucky at that time, and whether or not this infant enterprise ever reached the stage of successful operation is extremely doubtful. On the whole, it is fairly certain that paper suitable for newsprint was first made at Georgetown, Kentucky, in March, 1793, nearly six years after the *Kentucky Gazette* started. Consequently, John Bradford had to import the paper he used during the first six years of the existence of the *Kentucky Gazette*. One would suppose that Bradford obtained his paper from the same source from which John Scull obtained his paper, but we are left to wonder precisely where and from whom Scull purchased the newsprint paper used in the first volumes of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. Did he get this paper from Philadelphia or from Chambersburg or from some other place in eastern Pennsylvania? And was John Bradford's supply of this indispensable article obtained from the same mills that furnished John Scull his supply?

Dr. Wroth discusses the subject of paper-making in chapter vii of his above-mentioned book, *The Colonial Printer*, and at page 107 states that "this state [Pennsylvania] alone claimed forty-eight of the eighty or ninety mills in operation in the United States in 1787, and boasted an annual production two years later of 7000 reams of paper." Dr. Wroth has since told

me that "70,000 reams of paper" is the correct figure, as reported to Congress by Representative Clymer of Pennsylvania in April, 1789. The paper mills of Pennsylvania appear to have been located in or near Germantown and in Delaware County, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. A reference at page 110 of Dr. Wroth's book indicates that, in 1771, John Dunlap, a printer of Philadelphia, advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* that he had for sale "Pennsylvania printing paper of all sorts . . . on the most reasonable terms." In the end we may be forced to rest content with mere speculation or with reasonable probabilities regarding the origins of those things which were absolutely essential and indispensable to the operation of a printing plant in the infancy of the business, in plants like those of Pittsburgh and Lexington; but this reflection does not abate our curiosity or leave us any better satisfied to let the matter rest where it is.

A comparison of the makeup of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, of which an early copy is used as a frontispiece to Dr. Andrews' book, with the makeup of the earliest surviving issue of the *Kentucke Gazette* reveals some interesting data. There were no vertical rules in the first issues of the *Kentucke Gazette*, which, in this respect, differed from the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. Both papers ran three columns to the page, and the first issues of both papers appeared on Saturday of each week. The caption of the *Kentucke Gazette* is patterned, in a way, after that of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. The type faces of the two prints bear some resemblance to each other, but on close inspection they appear to be substantially different. This being so, the question arises whether the fonts were cast at the same foundry or at different foundries.

As stated by Fielding Bradford, the younger brother and co-partner of John Bradford, it appears that one Thomas Parvin, who settled in Kentucky in the fall of 1784, was the first person, of those who had previously served a regular apprenticeship to the business, to work in the Lexington printing office of

the Bradfords. By Fielding Bradford, who made the statement late in life, it is also said that Parvin had learned his trade with William Bradford, of Philadelphia, the same man from whom Dr. Franklin gained his first insight into the printing art. This statement, however, is partly erroneous. There is nothing to show that Benjamin Franklin ever worked with or for William Bradford, and it is well known that he took his first lessons in printing under his elder brother, James Franklin. The two men, however, were acquainted; and Franklin states that he once befriended William Bradford in Philadelphia. The statement attributed to Fielding Bradford may, nevertheless, contain a grain of truth. From it one may reasonably infer that, before emigrating to Kentucky, Thomas Parvin had probably worked as a printer somewhere in Philadelphia, though the scanty evidence at hand indicates that he had not actively followed his craft for about twenty years before he entered the employ of John Bradford. Is there any trace of such a journeyman printer as Thomas Parvin, between the years 1760 and 1785, in the ancient annals of Philadelphia? The author of this paper would certainly like to know.

One other phase of the bibliographical problem engaging our attention remains to be stated. That John Bradford has solid and meritorious claims to fame cannot be gainsaid by even the most casual student of his life. Not only does he deserve remembrance as the founder of Kentucky's first newspaper, as a pioneer printer and publisher, and as a useful and public-spirited citizen, but he takes rank among the foremost as a valuable and trustworthy historian. As a chronicle of contemporary events, the *Kentucky Gazette* itself is a veritable storehouse of history. One must constantly resort to its files to get information which cannot be found elsewhere; and this is true not only of Kentucky but of all the Ohio Valley region in general. Not content with the rich accumulations of historic material which he and his had, week by week through so many

years, assembled and recorded in the pages of the *Gazette*, the versatile genius, in his last years, undertook to provide for his own and future generations a connected narrative of the leading events in the early history of Kentucky. It goes without saying that he was eminently qualified for the task. He came to Kentucky at thirty years of age, and he remained a resident of the home of his adoption for more than half a century. Not only was he one of the foremost pioneers, but he was closely associated with all the more prominent of them. He knew these first-comers personally, mingled freely with them, conversed and corresponded with them, and received from a number of them documentary materials of great interest and value. Some of these authorities and sources of information are expressly mentioned in the Introduction to his notable history, which he modestly called "Notes on Kentucky." In a series of articles, appearing under this title in the *Kentucky Gazette*—a series which began on August 25, 1826, and ended on January 9, 1829, and numbered 62 in all—he produced a work of unquestionable excellence and lasting value. These articles were widely copied by other newspapers of the time, and it is to such outside sources that one must now go to recover the portions of the "Notes" that are missing from the broken files of the *Gazette*, which are still in the possession of the Lexington Public Library. So favorable was the impression made by Bradford's essays as a historian that an enterprising publisher at Xenia, Ohio, by the name of G. W. Stipp, collected the first twenty-three numbers of the series and, in 1827, reprinted them in a little book, now rare, entitled *The Western Miscellany*. This compilation was reprinted in 1932, in most attractive form, by the famous Grabhorn Press, of San Francisco, with an Introduction and notes by John Wilson Townsend, of Lexington.

The writer of this paper has managed to secure, from many and scattered sources, all of the sixty-two numbers of Bradford's "Notes" except six; and he hopes in the near future, with

or without these still missing articles, to publish the entire series, so far as known, in book form, prefaced by a brief biography of their author.

In an effort to find the six missing sections of Bradford's "Notes," the aid of Miss Winifred Gregory, editor of the *Union List of Newspapers* in the United States and Canada (completed and published during the past year by the H. W. Wilson Company, of New York, under the title *American Newspapers, 1821-1936*), was sought. Miss Gregory was most obliging and, in the *Bulletin of the American Library Association* for October, 1936, caused an appeal for these missing sections to be broadcast under the caption, "Are They in Your Library?" A similar solicitation for help was kindly published on December 12, 1936, in the *News Sheet* of the Bibliographical Society of America. Neither of these appeals, I am sorry to report, has yet produced any tangible results; and my collection of Bradford's "Notes on Kentucky" remains incomplete for the want of these six missing sections. That my wants may again be made known and the deficiency supplied, if possible, the numbers of the missing sections of John Bradford's "Notes on Kentucky," with the dates of the *Kentucky Gazette* in which they originally appeared, are here repeated:

Sec. 44, November 9, 1827
Sec. 54, February 22, 1828
Sec. 57, November 14, 1828
Sec. 58, about November 21 or 28, 1828[2]
Sec. 59, about November 28 or December 5, 1828[2]
Sec. 61, December 26, 1828

[2] Under date of March 11, 1938, the author wrote the Editor as follows: "Since the meeting in Philadelphia I am glad to report that two of the six missing sections of Bradford's 'Notes,' mentioned in my paper, have been discovered and acquired by me. These two are Section 58, of November 21, 1828 (recovered from the Connecticut State Library, at Hartford), and Section 59, of November 28, 1828 (obtained from The Filson Club, in Louisville, Kentucky, which lately became the owner of some odd issues of the *Kentucky Gazette*). This reduces my lacunae to four still missing sections, which are specified in my paper."

If copies of the *Kentucky Gazette* corresponding to the foregoing dates are no longer extant or cannot be located, there is yet a bare chance that some one or more of these missing sections were subsequently reprinted in other contemporary newspapers of approximately the same dates or of near-by dates; and in such contemporary journals as may have survived, further search must be made if the lost sections are ever to be found.

If is, of course, upon the establishment of his pioneer press and the printing of the newspaper and other publications that issued from it that John Bradford's title to fame chiefly rests. He had a fine conception of the true province, proper function, and guiding principle of a newspaper editor. In an article dated January 4, 1797, published in the *Kentucky Gazette* of that date, and addressed to the patrons of the *Kentucky Gazette*, he said:

> More than nine years experience has convinced me that *Impartiality* forms one of the most valuable traits in the character of a News Paper Printer; and notwithstanding it has some times operated as a partial disadvantage, duty and interest have continually prompted me unalterably to pursue it. The discussion of political subjects is an advantage of importance to society (especially when the object is the public good) and ought to be encouraged; but when the object is partly ill will or personal resentment, it ought to be rejected.

Not only in the pages of his newspaper did John Bradford render inestimable service to his fellow-countrymen, but from his press came some of the earliest and most valuable Kentucky publications of a more enduring form, such as books, pamphlets, broadsides, and legal blanks. In 1788 he published *The Kentucke Almanac*, which appeared periodically, perhaps annually, for many years. It was the first pamphlet from a western press. No copy of the 1788 issue is known to have survived, but we still have a few unfolded and uncut sheets of this first almanac to come from his shop.

From this modest beginning John Bradford went on to produce a long and impressive series of early Kentucky imprints.

It would require the vigilant and indefatigable research of a bibliographer like my friend, Douglas C. McMurtrie, of Chicago, to enumerate them all. But to give you an idea of how some of these rarities are valued at the present day, let me say that, at a recent auction sale, in New York, of an exceptionally fine collection of Americana, it was a John Bradford imprint of 1799 that brought the highest price paid for any of the lots offered for sale.

John Bradford was a mathematician of considerable erudition, and he was of an inventive turn, with an aptitude for mechanical contrivances. He interested himself in astronomy and was somewhat of a self-instructed philosopher. Before 1785 he had no practical knowledge or experience of the printing business; but he became, as Humphrey Marshall, in 1824, said, a "self-taught" printer. By some he was called "Old Wisdom"; by others, "the Kentucky Franklin." Like Franklin, he was a printer, an almanac-maker, an author, a dispenser of homely philosophy, and an active and intelligent participant in all the current affairs of his day. While, in his earlier years, he was inclined to be litigious, he was of an amiable and equable temperament. He was a Jeffersonian Republican in politics, and a member of the Democratic Society of Lexington, modeled after the Democratic or Jacobin Society of Philadelphia; but he seems never to have been a violent partisan and was remarkably impartial in admitting the writings of controversialists to his paper. He had a good command of English, and his style was clear, direct, and idiomatic. His views on public affairs and on other current topics of interest were sound and sensible and were always frankly and forcibly expressed. Beyond all question, he was an upright, useful, public-spirited, and highly esteemed citizen, and by every test deserved and still deserves well of his country. Above all, he rightly merits designation as "the Caxton of Kentucky."

SOME REFERENCE BOOKS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES: A FINDING-LIST*

Compiled by JOHN WEBSTER SPARGO

Haurit aquam cribris clericus absque libris.

IT IS now some years since I saw for the first time a solidly learned book of the Renaissance. The feeling of astonishment remains vividly with me when I see again in my mind's eye that edition of Del Rio's treatise on magic with its elaborate panoply of references constituting an extensive bibliography of the subject. For the first time it dawned upon me that the ability to find one's way about in an intricate subject was not the exclusive possession of the modern scholar equipped with the latest tricks of bibliographical technique. Our ancestors had their tricks, too. The rivulet of text in a meadow of marginal notes was not restricted to editions of the classics, in which one could easily take over one's predecessors' materials and add one's own. Yet how could Del Rio and his ilk do it, without Watt and Stein and Brunet and Petzholdt and Schneider, without our special bibliographies, our periodicals nicely analyzed, our indexes, our up-to-date library catalogues? The full answer to such a question cannot yet be made, and it was only gradually that an inkling of the true situation came to me. Now, at last, a partial answer to this question in the history of scholarship is implicitly available in the pioneering study of Theodore Besterman, *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography*, first published at Oxford in 1935 and reissued, with few ad-

* Read by title, December 29, 1938, at a meeting of the Society held in Chicago.

ditions, in 1936. Now the majority of the titles listed in this work were cited by Petzholdt in 1866; but Petzholdt's extremely high standards—altogether too high, for a bibliographical world inhabited by human beings—brought him to look upon many of these as being useless. It is all a question of the user, of course. A high-school student in a small midwestern town would not get far with Watt, but this does not make Watt useless. Through his immense industry and erudition, Petzholdt learned of the existence of many ancient bibliographical works which nobody else in modern times knew anything about; but because they did not meet his standards of judgment he damned them, or so his economy of praise and his liberality with such adjectives as *wertlos* and *nutzlos* inevitably impress the reader. He damned them, and they have remained in limbo ever since, until Mr. Besterman elected to take a look at them.[1] The result is that we can now perceive that the scholar of the Renaissance, like the scholar of today, found his way about through the aid of reference books. Some of them were splendid folios; others were ill-printed pamphlets. Some were invaluable then—and, if we will but look at them, we must admit that they are invaluable now; others were ill conceived and ill executed. The significant fact is that they existed and can still be used in numerous ways—significant, for the wise man will adapt Pliny's statement to make it read that no bibliography is so bad but that some good can be got out of it.

Many of these bibliographies, good and bad, are described in meticulous fashion by Mr. Besterman, who has thus made available to the scholar of the twentieth century these victims of the changing fashions in books and of the natural efforts of most bibliographers to keep up with the times by dropping from their lists books not widely in demand.

[1] Cf., for instance, what the two have to say about Israel Spach's *Nomenclator* (1598). Petzholdt, p. 458, admits that its classification is comprehensive but maintains that it is of inferior bibliographical value; Besterman, pp. 32 f., praises it highly. Having used it extensively, I am even more enthusiastic than Besterman.

It has been my habit for some years past to jot down the titles of works of reference for these two centuries whenever I came upon them. From Mr. Besterman's researches I learned so much that I have decided to list here, very informally, about 150 titles which augment the information offered in his *Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography*, believing, as I do, that they will be as serviceable to other students of these centuries as they have been to me. It is through books of this kind that we can most readily and accurately estimate the power of some of the most influential elements in the thought of past ages. Through them we are able to grasp how the learned and perhaps the not-so-learned worked, what books they used, what gave them their opinions on this matter or that; and thus we can follow some of the ramifications in the development of their ideas. Moreover, then as now, the man who knew—the scholar—instructed his fellows in what they required of bookish matters and the ideas that flow from books. Preacher, lawyer, courtier, physician, writer—all made use at first or second hand of these books of reference, just as standard for them as the *Encyclopædia Britannica* or Mudge is standard for us today. These were the manuals of controversy; these were the guides of the thoughts of men in all subjects associated with the world of books. Today, with our interest in ransacking the whole environment of a man or period in order to ascertain the intellectual climate, the very essence of the time, these works are of greater value than they have ever been before.

If they are of great value today, we need to be informed of them. The problem is to find them, for many of them have disappeared from common knowledge, thanks to the system of cataloguing libraries alphabetically by names of authors rather than by subjects treated. From this dilemma Robert Alexander Peddie is valiantly striving singlehanded to extricate us; but his efforts are general rather than special, and he was quick to perceive the value of the materials collected here.

A list of the names of the books in just anybody's library in 1550, in 1600, in 1650, in anybody's library or anybody's bookshop, will often give hints which will enable the investigator to follow out a line of thought which otherwise might not have occurred to him. In such lists we have the rough designs which made up the patterns of men's minds, for the lists are based upon actual books that stood upon actual shelves in actual libraries and bookshops.

A saving characteristic of libraries in those days—their smallness, if compared with the enormous institutions of the twentieth century with their millions of books reposing upon endless miles of shelving—enters to aid us at this point. Libraries in the sixteenth century had developed from smaller collections, monastic and lay, which presented, with their few hundreds of books, hardly more serious problems of classification than does the small personal library of today. Chaucer's clerk had little trouble in finding any one of his twenty "bokes." Now, in the sixteenth-century or seventeenth-century library, the books were shelved according to subjects, theology almost always coming first, medicine or law often coming next, and so on. Readers had direct access to the shelves, as in a Carnegie branch today. When the need for a catalogue arose, as it does in Nos. 80 and 107 below, the librarian went to the first case, containing theological books, and listed the works standing in that bookcase. If he had a systematic mind, he arranged the list in alphabetical order by authors. Perhaps he followed the shelf order slavishly and grouped the titles according to the format of the books, with alphabetical order within the groups folio, quarto, and octavo. Anyhow, he labeled the first division of his catalogue or shelf list "theology." This done, he moved on to the next bookcase or division. Thus his completed catalogue supplied a great desideratum to users of his library and to modern scholars—a series of catalogues of special sections of a library. If his library were in itself a special one, like that at Sion College in 1650

(No. 84 in my list), so much the better for the concentrated value of the catalogue.

Suppose now that instead of a librarian's catalogue we have a bookseller's list of titles, arranged by subject, of books he has for sale at a given time, let us say in 1570. The resulting printed catalogue is ephemeral in the sense that the books have long since been dispersed; but it can still be very useful because it is a record of public demand. Obviously, that bookseller had his place in time and space, and the fact that he was able to get together precisely those books then and there may be of great significance to a student of the intellectual milieu at that time. Moreover, the titles in this bookseller's catalogue can be, and in part have been, reconstituted in the great libraries of today. The argument that there will be some or even many false entries does not invalidate this statement. A scholar who habitually thought and wrote in Latin felt as free in his day as does the Frenchman of today to turn names into something that never was on land or sea except in his own mind. One has many a merry chase to track down the original information adumbrated in a Latin title. The German or English or Spanish original may look very different, but one is none the less glad to have been referred to it under any circumstances at all. If this bookseller happened to be an Englishman, a large proportion of the books catalogued can be identified at the British Museum and the Bodleian; if a German, they can be found through the Preussische Staatsbibliothek or the Auskunftsbüro there; if a Dutchman, at Amsterdam and Leiden; and so on. Thus such catalogues supply new threads by which to find one's way, in terms of a given date, through the immense labyrinths which modern libraries present with their catalogues arranged alphabetically by authors' names. Through such ancient catalogues one can learn, too, what new books people were reading in a given decade, sometimes even in a given year, and in addition what old books peo-

ple were buying and therefore presumably reading. Often we need some means of ascertaining the importance of a given book at a given time. We are lucky if we find writers mentioning it, for that is valuable positive evidence. Negative evidence—that is, the failure of persons to mention the book—is untrustworthy. After all, one does not write about all the books that one reads. How proceed, then, with merely negative evidence? Look in all the lists of books of the period that you can find. If the title is present or absent in many of them—in library catalogues, in booksellers' catalogues, in bibliographies of one kind or another, in auctioneers' catalogues—then you can draw usable inferences.

If auctioneers' catalogues can be read with profit, how accessible are they? I have not included many in my list; but beginning with the last decade of the sixteenth century in Holland they increase in number and importance throughout Europe. Probably lists of these catalogues can be found in manuscript at Amsterdam and Leiden and Antwerp and Brussels. Photographic catalogue "Q" at the Bibliothèque Nationale registers some hundreds. Help can be had in the work by M. M. Kleerkooper and W. P. van Stockum, Jr., *De Boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e Eeuw* ("Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van den nederlandschen Boekhandel," Vol. X) ('s-Gravenhage, 1914–16), in three volumes and 1,745 pages. The British Museum published in 1915 a *List of Catalogues of English Book Sales, 1676–1900, now in the British Museum*. About three hundred catalogues are listed for the period 1676–1700; thus the ground is covered more adequately than by John Lawler in *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century* ("Book-Lover's Library") (London, 1898). The custom spread from Holland, where the very great number of catalogues in the seventeenth century is an eloquent proof that those burghers who look out at us from Dutch paintings could be highly dis-

criminating book-collectors as well as patrons of some of the most gifted artists that the world has known.

Not much short of three centuries ago it began to appear that the first compiler of a bibliography of bibliographies was a native of the Low Countries, too. That man was Jodocus a Dudinck, and his work was first signalized by Valerius Andreas in his *Bibliotheca belgica* (Lovanii, 1643) (p. 593). The title as Andreas gives it is most interesting: *Bibliothecariographia; hoc est Enumeratio omnium Auctorum Operumque, quae sub titulo Bibliothecae, Catalogi, Indicis, Nomenclatoris, Athenarum &c. prodierunt.* Coloniae, apud Iodocum Kalcoven, 1643. 8°. The title is echoed, skeptically by some, from Andreas; but nobody has ever seen the book, and the ghost may be said to have been effectively laid by the Auskunftsbüro der Deutschen Bibliotheken, which reports that no copy is known to exist in any German library. It is missing also at many other great libraries where I have looked for it. Until a copy turns up, the first work in this field seems to be Philippe Labbé's *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, of which I have not seen the first edition. The second (at BN and BM), published at Paris in 1664, is an octavo of 394 pages; the fourth, also published at Paris, in 1682, has 402 pages, about 3 × 5 inches in size, packed with sound information. This last, with Vogler (No. 98, below) and Antoine Tessier's *Catalogus auctorum qui librorum catalogos, indices, bibliothecas . . . scriptis consignarunt . . .* (Genevae: S. de Tournes, 1686) (432 pages in quarto, including eleven careful indexes), will provide the foundation for a complete survey of the bibliographical activities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] As Labbé says of his own book, such a survey is "pernecessaria omnibus bibliothecariis, et quibuscumque librorum scientiarumque amatoribus." Once completed, this survey will be hailed by future generations quite as Friderich Zubrodt greeted the

[2] Tessier and Labbé are mentioned in passing by Besterman, p. 50.

labors of that indefatigable tracker-down Georg Draud, in 1611:

> Quale laboris onus, qualis collectio rerum,
> Quae series, hunc quis dirigit ordo librum?
> . . . . . .
> In toto mundo nulli quoque gratia debet,
> Conspicuus nullum concomitetur honos.
> At tamen ullius modo si scintillula famae est,
> Gloria si restat, debeat illa tibi.

Because of the limited time which I could devote to the examination of these works in great libraries, I had to choose whether to describe thirty books completely or to offer this list as it stands here. My decision was to seize these books, look at them, and then offer the list with all its drawbacks. No effort was made to record any save the earliest edition at hand of each book. I have not been able to attempt completeness, whether in giving the complete record of publication of each book, in exhausting the possibilities of finding more, or in describing fully those books which I did see. Each book has been seen by me, however, at B Maz, BN, or BM, unless I say definitely "not seen." For works difficult to find in catalogues, I have tried to give the shelf marks. Those I have included which are named by Petzholdt or Besterman are especially pointed out as belonging in that category. Grateful acknowledgment must be made of kindnesses shown to me at the libraries named below, particularly by Mme Dupuy-Briet at the BN and by Mr. Arthur I. Ellis at the BM. Mr. George C. Vieh checked BPL, HCL, LC, NYP, and UTS for me.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

B	Theodore Besterman, *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography*, 2d ed.	HCL	Harvard College Library
		JCB	John Carter Brown Library
BM	British Museum	LC	Library of Congress
B Maz	Bibliothèque Mazarine	Nb	Newberry Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale	NYP	New York Public Library
BPL	Boston Public Library	UC	University of Chicago Library
		UTS	Union Theological Seminary

FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

1486 (1) JACOBUS PHILIPPUS FORESTI. Supplementum chronicarum. . .

Venetiis, Bernardinus de Benaliis, 1486. folio.
BM; BPL; HCL; NYP

Book iv contains bibliographical information on sacred and profane writers. Earliest edition published at Venice in 1483?

[1495?] (2) THOMAS PALMER, HIBERNICUS. Manipulus florum.

Venetiis, Joannes Rubeus Vercellensis, [1495?]. 4°.
BM; HCL (1483?)

A florilegium with *index titulorum* arranged under subject headings. Of these there are more than 300; e.g., "abstinentia," "abusio," "acceptio," "accidia," and so on. The *index auctorum ex quibus hi flores decerpti sunt* in the numerous editions later than this lists 60 theological and 20 secular writers. These later editions have such titles as *Flores omnium pene doctorum . . .* or *Flores doctorum pene omnium. . .*

1497 (3) JACOBUS PHILIPPUS FORESTI. De plurimis claris scelestisq*ue* mulieribus.

Ferrariae, Laurentius Rubeis de Valentia, 1497. folio.
BM; BPL; HCL (1493)

Three hundred and forty folio pages are devoted to women famous for something or other, among them an occasional writer—e.g., Sappho.

1505 (4) PETRUS CRINITUS FLORENTINUS [Pietro Ricci]. De poetis latinis.

Florentiae, P. Junta, 1505. folio. BM; BN; LC; Nb

This work is Part ii of *Petri Criniti commentarii de honesta disciplina.* Ninety-five Latin writers, many of them obscure, arē named, and their writings are discussed. Literary history rather than pure bibliography, the treatise does give bibliographical information somewhat after the style of Aulus Gellius. BN calls him "Pietro Riccio, *dit* Crinito."

1505 (5) GEREMIA DE MONTAGNONE. Epytoma sapientie.

Venetiis, P. Liechtensteyn, 1505. 4°. BN (not seen); UC

Most likely this is the same as a work referred to as Hieremias Paduanus, *De authoribus scientiarum & libris eorum* (Venetiis, 1505, 4°), first mentioned by Gesner and re-cited from him by Simler and Spach. The author is known also as Hieremias Judex. Cf. Johannes A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, ed. Mansi (Patavii, 1754), III, 245, and Pio Rajna in *Studij di filologia romanza*, V (1891), 193–204. In MS the work was most frequently called: *Compendium moralium notabilium.*

[1515?] (6) Aymar du Rivail. De historia juris civilis et pontificii. In bibliotheca Ludovici Olivelli, Valentie, [1515?]. 4°. BM

There are several later editions. Cf. Ernst von Müller, *Aymar du Rivail, der erste Rechtshistoriker* ("Historische Studien," Heft 56) (Berlin, 1907).

[1522?] (7) Bernardus Luxemburgensis. Catalogus haereticorum omnium pene, qui a scriptoribus passim literis proditi sunt, nomina, errores, & tempora q*ui*bus vixerunt ostende*n*s. . . [Cologne, E. Cervicorn, 1522?] 4°. BM; UTS

Forty-six leaves. The edition of 1524, 4° (BN), grew to 89 leaves.

1536 (8) Bernardinus Rutilius. Veterum jurisconsultorum vitae. Romae, A. Bladus, 1536. 8°. BM

Seventy-seven jurists and their writings are discussed in 362 pages.

[1546?] (9) Libri vaenales in bibliopolio Roberti Stephani typographi Regii, tum ab Henrico Stephano patre, tum a Simone Colinaeo eius vitrico excusi. N.p., n.d. [1546?]. BM

Fifteen leaves. Divisions: "Graeca sacra," "Grammatica," "Poetica," "Historica," "Rhetoria," "Oratoria," "Dialectica," "Philosophica," "Arithmetica," "Geometrica," "Medica," "Livres ecclésiastiques" (from Pierce Butler).

1547 (10) Le catalogue des livres censurez par la faculté de Théologie de Paris, 1544. Avec accession et addition puis ledict temps des livres nouvellement censurez par ladicte faculté iusques à présent 1547 avant Paques. Paris, J. André, 1547. 12mo. BN: Q Rés. 567

BN has one later edition—Paris: J. Dallier, 1556. 8°.

1548 (11) Joannes Cochlaeus [Johann Dobneck, Cochlaeus]. Catalogus brevis eorum, quae contra novas sectas scripsit Joannes Cochlaeus. Per Franciscum Behem . . . prope Moguntiam, 1548. 8°. BM

Arranged by years from 1522 to 1545; first books and tracts in Latin, then tracts in German. Not paged. The list covers 14 pages.

1550 (12) Die catalogen oft inventarisen vanden quaden verboden boucken: ende van andere goede die men den iongen scholieren leeren mach na advys der Universiteyt van Loven. Met een edict oft mandement der Keyserliicker Maiesteyt.

Louven, S. van Sassen, 1550. 4°.
BN: Q Rés. 289; LC; NYP

The "Cataloghe ende intitulatie van quade verboden boecken" occupies ff. b–c iij, v°. The "Cataloghe van den boecken die men inde particulíer scholen den ionghers sal moghen lesen ende leeren" occupies c iij, v°—[c iv]. In this latter there are 30 titles, divided among "Grammaticiens in Latijn," "Grammaticiens int Grieck," "Grammaticiens int hebreus," and "Orateurs. Poeten. Dialecticiens." Place and date of publication are usually omitted. The purpose and the time of this little work make it interesting bibliographically. BM has a copy in French, same date and printer: 618.b.43.

1551 (13) C. Lycosthenes [i.e., Conrad Wolffhart]. Elenchus scriptorum omnium, veterum scilicet ac recentiorum, extantium et non extantium, publicatorum atque hinc inde in bibliothecis latitantium, qui ab exordio mundi usque ad nostra tempora in diversis linguis, artibus ac facultatibus claruerunt, ac etiamnum hodie vivunt: ante annos aliquot a Conrado Gesnero editus, nunc vero primum in Reipublicae literariae gratiam in compendium redactus, et autorum haud poenitenda accessione auctus.

Basileae, Oporinus, 1551. 4°. BM

B, pp. 15 *et seq.*, discusses Gesner's bibliographies but does not give later editions which improve on Gesner. The edition named above was reedited by Simler in 1555 and 1574, each time with additions. Petzholdt mentions this work (p. 68). See further Willy Ley, *Konrad Gesner, Leben und Werk* ("Münchener Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin," xv, xvi) (München, 1929), in which appear a bibliography of Gesner's works (pp. 137–50) and a bibliography of works about Gesner (pp. 151–54).

1553 (14) Alfonsus Garsia Matamorus Hispalensis. De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione, sive de viris Hispaniae doctis narratio apologetica. . .

Compluti, A. de Xaramillo, 1553. 8°. B Maz; BM

Ninety-six pages and index. Not an elaborate bibliography.

1558 (15) Somma delle opere che in tutte le scienze et arti piu nobili, et in varie lingue ha da mandare in luce l'Academia Venetiana, parte nuove e non piu stampate, parte con fedelissime tradottioni, . . . et utilissimi annotationi riformate.

Academia Venetiana, 1558. folio. BN: Q 141; BM: Ac 112

Not paged. Thirty-four leaves in twos (collation identical in both copies). There are such headings as "Theology," "Metaphysics," "Physics," "Medicine," "Civil Law." Thus it is a subject bibliography.

1558 (16) [Christophorus Walther.] Register aller Bücher und Schrifften des Ehrenwirdigen Herrn Doctoris Martini Lutheri seliger gedechtnis, welche in die Eilff Deudsche Teil, und in die sieben Latinische Tomos, zu Wittenberg gedruckt sind. . .

Wittenberg, Hans Lufft, 1558. 4°. BM; UC; UTS

Not paged. The *Register* occupies B–M iij in fours.

1559 (17) Libri quos variis in scientiis et artibus conscriptos nuper edidit, et ad nundinas Francofordianas misit Academia Veneta.

Academia Veneta, 1559. 4°. BN: Q Rés. 282

Nine pages devoted to a list of books classified as in the *Somma* of 1558 (above, No. 15).

1559 (18) Summa librorum quos in omnibus scientiis ac nobilioribus artibus variis linguis conscriptos vel antea nunquam divulgatos, vel utilissimus . . . scholiis correctionibusque illustratos in lucem emittet Academia Veneta.

Academia Veneta, 1559. 4°. BN: Q 894; HCL

Seventy-eight pages are devoted to subject classifications rather more elaborate than in Nos. 15 and 17, above; e.g., books on economics are included.

1560 (19) Bernardinus Scardeonius. De antiquitate urbis Patavii, & claris civibus Patavinis libri tres. . .

Basileae, N. Episcopius junior, 1560. folio. BM; BPL

Books ii and iii are devoted to famous men and women of Padua, among them many writers whose works are named. E.g., Book ii, classis vii: "De claris theologis, & sacrarum litterarum cultoribus" (pp. 147–49); same, classis x: "De claris grammaticis, rhetoribus, historicis & poetis" (pp. 228–51); same, classis xi: "De Italicae linguae scriptoribus" (pp. 253–61).

1563 (20) Sigismund Schwob. Register aller Schrifften des Ehrwirdigen Herrn D. Martini Lutheri, gerichtet zu gleich auff die XIX. Wittenbergischen, und XII. Ihenischen Tomos, beyders des Alten unnd Newen Drucks allen Liebhabern der Bücher Lutheri gantz nützlich zu gebrauchen.

Breslaw, C. Scharffenberg, 1563. 4°. BM

Pages not numbered. Ai–[X iii] in fours. Bound with this copy is the same compiler's Latin translation, *Index omnium scriptorum . . . Lutheri . . .* (Vratislaviae, 1563); and both are found together in Schwob's *Register Deudsch und Latinisch, aller Bücher und Schrifften des . . . Herrn D. M. Lutheri . . .* (Wittenberg: Peter Seitz, 1564), folio.

BM; HCL; UC

1565 (21) Wilhelm Eysengrein. Catalogus testium veritatis locupletissimus, omnium orthodoxae matris ecclesiae doctorum, extantium & non extantium, publicatorum & in bibliothecis latentium, qui adulterina ecclesiae dogmata, impuram, impudentem & impiam haeresum vaniloquentiam, in hunc usque diem firmissimis demonstrationum rationibus impugnarunt, variaq*ue* scriptorum monumenta reliquerunt, seriem complectens.

Dilingae, Sebaldus Mayer, 1565. 4°. BN; BM

Two hundred and eleven leaves, plus index (folios not numbered) of 11 folios in two columns. A manual of controversy, with much bibliographical information.

1567 (22) Ægidius Periander. Germania, in qua doctissimorum virorum elogia & judicia continentur. . .

Francofurti ad Moenum, P. Fabricius, impensis S. Feyrabend, 1567. 8°. BM

Pp. [20], 842, [23]. Rather a "Who's Who" of humanist Germany than a bibliography; but the "Catalogus omnium authorum, ex quibus Ægidii Periandri Germania conflata . . . ," takes up 13 two-column pages.

1569 (23) [Joannes Oporinus.] Catalogus librorum per Joannem Oporinum excusorum, secundum ordinem alphabeticum, adiecta impressionis forma. [A part of] Oratio de ortu, vita, et obitu Joannis Oporini Basiliensis, typographicorum Germaniae principis . . . authore Andrea Jocisco Silesio. . .

Argentorati, Theodosius Rihelius, 1569. 8°. BM; BN; HCL

Not paged. The list occupies [C vii]—[F vi, verso]. Classified roughly into theology, etc. Bound with the BM copy is a more complete list entitled *Exuviae Joannis Oporini Typographi Basiliensis: Hoc est, Bibliotheca librorum impressorum . . .* (n.p., 1571; 8°; pp. 262).

1569 (24) Gabriel Du Préau. De vitis, et dogmatibus omnium haereticorum, qui ab orbe condito, ad nostra usque tempora, & veterum & recentium authorum monumentis proditi sunt, elenchus alphabeticus, cum eorundem hereticorum origine, institutis & temporibus, quibus suis pstigiis mundo imposuerunt . . . per Gabrielem Prateolum Marcossum.

Coloniae, Gervinus Calenius, 1569. folio. BM; UTS

Pp. 10, 74 (of indexes, in two columns), and 509 (in two columns). Another manual for controversialists, with much bibliographical information.

1572 (25) G. Theophilus. Catalogus authorum, qui in Sacros Biblicos libros Veteris & Novi Testamenti scripserunt: iam iterum, post G. Theophili Itali aeditionem, ex variis Bibliothecis collectus. . .

Argentorati, N. Wyriot, [date illegible; given as 1572 in BM Catalogue]. 12°. BM

Nineteen unnumbered pages in two columns. One page lists Bibles. This copy (861.f.8./1.) has bound with it some 20 blank leaves which have been copiously annotated. Another edition (Wittebergae: Clemens Schleich & Antonius Schöne, 1578) was expanded to 36 pages, also not numbered. Like many of its kind, this handy manual for the clergyman seems a little vague to anybody working outside a clergyman's library of the period. The commentators "In Zachariam," for instance, are Didymus, Franciscus Lambertus, Hippolytus, and Martinus Lutherus.

1574 (26) Thomaso Tomai. Historia di Ravenna.

Pesaro, A. Gigli, 1574. 4°. BM

Parte iv is devoted to illustrious citizens of Ravenna; cap. ii in parte iv is entitled :"D'alcuni huomini eccellenti nella filosofia, medicina, & astrologia disciplina" (leaves 104–6); cap. iii: "De gl'huomini eccellenti nelle leggi" (leaves 107–13); cap. v: "De gl'huomini eccellenti nelle lettere humane, & arte oratoria" (leaf 116); cap. vi: "D'alcuni eccellenti huomini nella poesia" (leaves 117–18).

1575 (27) Jean de Nostredame. Les vies des plus célèbres et anciens poetes provensaux, qui ont floury du temps des Comtes de Provence.

Lyon, A. Marsilii, 1575. 8°. BM; BPL; HCL

Pp. 258, [12] of index. Seventy-six poets are discussed. This work was edited by Joseph Anglade (Paris, 1913).

1578 (28) [Johannes Hartung.] Bibliotheca sive antiquitates urbis Constantinopolitanae.

Argentorati, N. Wyriot, 1578. 4°. BN: Q 1612

On Bi, verso, and following is a list of collections of books to be found at Constantinople; e.g., "Ex catalogo librorum hinc inde extantium à Grammatico exhibito, continenti libros 174." Note that, in spite of the title, this work is *not* a bibliography of books about Constantinople.

1578 (29) Joannes Matthaeus Toscanus. Peplus Italiae... In quo illustres viri grammatici, oratores, historici, poëtae, mathematici, philosophi, medici, jurisconsulti (quotquot tredentis ab hinc annis tota Italia floruerunt) eorumque patriae, professiones, & litterarum monumenta tum carmine tum soluta oratione recensentur.

Lutetiae, F. Morellus, 1578. 8°. BM; HCL

One hundred and eighteen pages are devoted to celebrating in verses the renown of some 200 writers. After each verse are a few lines of prose alluding to the writer's works. The conceit in the title glances at the idea that the gown of Athena is made up of writers devoted to her service.

1580 (30) Suffridus Petrus [called Leovardiensis, i.e., "of Leeuwarden"]. De illustribus ecclesiae scriptoribus, authores praecipui veteres: I. D. Hieronymus Stridonensis presb. II. Gennadius Massiliensis. III. Isidorus Hispalensis. IIII. Honorius Augustodunensis presbyter. V. Sigebertus Gemblacensis monachus. VI. Henricus de Gandavo, Archidiaconus Tornacensis.

Coloniae, M. Cholinus, 1580. 8°. BN

An anthology of writings on books and libraries; indexed.

1581 (31) Claude Fauchet. Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poesie françoise, ryme et romans. Plus les noms et sommaire des oeuvres de cxxvii poetes François, vivans avant l'an MCCC.

Paris, M. Patisson, 1581. 4°. BM; HCL; LC; Nb; UC

Book ii, pp. 82–209, contains the list of 127 poets who lived before 1300. At least one work by each poet is named. Numbers 125 and 126 are Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun.

1581 (32) Josephus Pamphilus. Chronica ordinis fratrum Eremitarum sancti Augustini. . .

Romae, G. Ferrarius, 1581. 4°. BM

Contains information about writings by members of the order. It antedates considerably the *Anastasis Augustiniana* by Thomas Gratianus (1613). See B, p. 55.

1582 (33) Cornelis Loos. Illustrium Germaniae scriptorum catalogus.

Moguntiae, C. Behem, 1582. 8°. BM; HCL

B cites this (p. 69) but gives date as 1581 instead of 1582.

1582 (34) [Martinus Mylius.] Chronologia scriptorum Philippi Melanchthonis.

Gorlicii, Ambrosius Fritsch, 1582. 8°. BM; UC; UTS

Not paged. Begins with Melanchthon's birth, 1497, [A2], verso, continues to his death, 1560, I 1; and concludes with a supplement, I 2—I 5, recto.

1583 (35) Angelus Roccha [Angelo Rocca]. Bibliotheca ex praecipue tantum quibusdam, et gravioribus quidem theologis, quos scripturales vocant. . .

Romae, V. Accolti, 1583. 4°. BN

Not paged. [A iii]—G iii, i.e., 48 pages, are occupied by the catalogue of works written by dignitaries of the church, by a list of councils, and so on.

1584 (36) Caspar Wolff. Virorum illustrium alphabetica enumeratio, qui de ponderum ac mensurarum doctrina vel integros aut tractatus scripserunt, vel saltem obiter aut summarie in suis scriptis, hanc materiam attigerunt: per Casparum Vuolphium Tigurinum Medicum recens collecta. [This detailed bibliography of one special intricate subject, weights and measures, occupies ff. 71–104, i.e., 66 pages, in] Dominici Massarii Vincentini De ponderibus et mensuris medicinalibus libri tres. . .

Tiguri, Froschouer, 1584. 8°. BM: 547.c.4.(10); Nb

1585 (37) Hieronymi Mercurialis censura et dispositio operum Hippocratis: denuo edita locupletior et emendatior.

Francofurdi, haered. A. Wecheli, 1585. 8°. BN

Of little value.

1585 (38) Elenchus omnium auctorum sive scriptorum qui in iure tam civili quam canonico vel commentando, vel quibuscumque modis explicando. . . Initio quidem a clariss. nostri seculi iurisconsultis, D. Ioanne Nevizano, Ludovico Gomesio, Ioanne Fichardo, & Ioanne Baptisto Zileto, summo studio ac diligentia collectus: ante quinquennium autem Ioannis Wolfgangi Freymonii in Obernhausen . . . opera & studio tertia fere parte auctior in lucem datus. . .

Francofurti ad Moenum, 1585. 4°.
B Maz: 13742.B; UC (1579)

B lists Nevizzano (1522) and Ziletti (1559). This improves on both by additions and by its index of 250 pages.

1586 (39) Petrus Rodulphius. Historiarum seraphicae religionis Franciscanorum libri tres . . . quibus . . . explicantur fundamenta . . . ordinis . . . et instituta; necnon viri scientia, virtutibus, et fama praeclari.

Venetiis, F. de Franciscis Senensis, 1586. fo. BM

Twelve years earlier than Willot (B, p. 73).

1591 (40) Angelus Roccha. Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana a Sixto V. Pont. Max. in splendidiorem, commodioremq*ue* locum translata, et a fratre Angelo Roccha . . . commentario variarum artium, ac scientiarum materiis curiosis, ac difficillimis, scituq*ue* dignis refertissimo, illustrata.

Romae, typ. apostolica Vaticana, 1591. 4°.
BN; BM; BPL; LC; Nb; NYP

[a 3]—[e 6] are occupied by a list "Auctorum qui in hoc opere passim citantur, nomina, cognomina, origines, monimenta insigniora, & elogia breviter conscripta. . ." This is a bibliographical guide or handbook describing the library.

1593 (41) Antonio Possevino [the Elder, 1534–1611]. Bibliotheca selecta; quae agitur de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda. . .

Romae, 1593. folio. BM

Twenty years of labor went into the making of this book. It benefits from the author's knowledge of Gesner, Simler, and Fries. It displays the ideas current about literary history at the end of the sixteenth century.

1593 (42) Theologorum omnium tam Protestantium, quam Pontificiorum, qui Germanicè ab anno 1568 usque ad 1593 scripserunt, enumeratio.

Erfurt, 1593. 8°. Not seen

1594 (43) Johann Jacob Beurer. Synopsis historiarum, et methodus nova: . . . libris duobus.

Hanoviae, G. Antonius, 1594. 8°. BN; BM

Although not primarily a bibliography, bibliographical materials are scattered about here and there; e.g., "Historici Christianae Religionis," pp. 160 *et seq.*, 20 titles; "Historici sectae Arabicae," "Historici Chaldaeorum," etc., p. 168; "Historici Æthiopum, Indorum, et omnium pene Africe populorum," p. 181, 10 titles.

1595 (44) Nomenclator autorum omnium, quorum libri . . . extant in bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batavae.

Lugduni Batavorum, F. Raphelengius, 1595. 4°. BM

Pp. [x], [86]. Arranged under the usual subject headings of theology, etc.

1597 (45) Antonio Possevino [the Elder]. Apparatus ad omnium gentium historiam.

Venetiis, Io. Bapt. Ciotta Senensis, 1597. 12mo. BM; NYP

A subject bibliography running to approximately 520 small pages. There is an edition in Italian [Venice? 1600?], as well as a second in Latin (Venetiis, 1602).

1598 (46) Philibert Mareschal. Le guide des arts et sciences et promptuaire de tous livres, tant composez que traduicts en François.

Paris, F. Jaquin, 1598. 18mo. BN

Pp. viii, 421. A genuine subject bibliography, with place and date of publication usually omitted. The first few subject headings are: "Grammaire"; "Langues, ou langages divers"; "Rhethorique"; "Dialectique"; "Mathematiques"; "Philosophie" ... ; "Poësie Fabuleuse et Fables."

Seventeenth Century

1600 (47) Bibliothecae inclytae reipublicae Augustanae utriusque tum Graecae tum Latinae librorum & impressorum & manu exaratorum Catalogus.

Augustae Vindelicorum, Val. Schönigk, 1600. Oblong folio. (302 × 96 mm.).

Pp. 560, [76]—the last an index of authors. Apparently the first catalogue of a public library, this work is classified under 27 subject headings. Its format shows that it was made for use in the library at Augsburg. The only copy which I have seen is in the possession of Mr. E. P. Goldschmidt. BM has a catalogue of Greek books and MSS only: *Catalogus Graecorum librorum, manuscriptorum, Augustanae Bibliothecae . . .* (Augustae Vindelicorum: M. Manger, 1575; 4°).

1602 (48) Joannes Clessius. Unius seculi, eiusque virorum literatorum monumentis tum florentissimi, tum fertilissimi: ab anno dom. 1500 ad 1602 nundinarum autumnalium inclusive, elenchus consummatissimus librorum; hebraei, graeci, latini, germani, aliorumque Europae idiomatum: typorum aeternitati consecratorum. Quo quicquid in rebus divinis et humanis a magni nominis theologis, jurisconsultis, medicis, philosophis, historicis, etc. literis demandatum est, commodissima methodo deprehendere licet. Desumptus partim ex singularum nundinarum catalogis, partim ex in structissimis ubique; locorum bibliothecis: atque in tomos duos partitus; quorum utilitas, et dispositionis ratio in praefatione habetur.

Francofurti, Peter Kopff, 1602. 4°.

BN; BM; HCL; NYP; UC

Title of Part ii: "Catalogi librorum germanicorum alphabetici: das ist: Verzeichniss der teudtschen Bücher unnd Schriften in allerley Faculteten unnd Künsten, so seyther anno 1500 bis auff die Herbstmess anno 1602 aussgangen und in die gewöhnliche Franckfurtische Catalogos sind gebracht worden . . ." (Franckfort am Meyn bey Johann Saurn in Verlegung Petri Kopffen, 1602; 4°).

Part i, 563 pages; Part ii, 292 pages. These useful catalogues and others of their kind have been condemned because they were made up not from the books themselves but from lists furnished by booksellers and others. It is true that there are errors and ghosts; but with all errors and ghosts included, there is a mass of valuable information in such works which makes them very significant for the investigator. Note that none of the works of this type mentioned here is included in Gustav Schwetschke's *Codex nundinarius germaniae literatae bisecularis 1564–1765* (Halle, 1850). Petzholdt, p. 70, mentions this work.

1603–7 (49) Antonio Possevino [the Elder]. Apparatus sacer. Venetiis, 1603–6. 3 vols. folio. BN; BM

Coloniae, 1607. 2 vols. folio. BM; HCL; UTS

There are approximately 2,000 folio pages devoted to some 8,000 authors, ecclesiastical and lay. Later editions enlarged on these.

1605 (50) Variorum librorum Chinensium bibliotheca sive libri, qui nunc primum ex China seu regno Sinarum advecti sunt. Amstelodami, C. Nicolai, 1605. Not seen

See Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinnica*, Vol. III (Paris, 1906–7), col. 1813.

1605 (51) Thomas James. Catalogus librorum bibliothecae publicae quam vir ornatissimus Thomas Bodleius Eques Auratus in Academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit; continet autem libros alphabetice dispositos secundum quatuor facultates: cum quadruplici elencho expositorum S. Scripturae, Aristotelis, Juris utriusq*ue;* & principum medicinae, ad usum almae Academicae Oxoniensis.

Oxoniae, Joseph Barnes, 1605. 4°. BM; LC

Contents: "Libri Theologici," pp. 1–162, 426–506; "Catalogus expositorum S. Scripturae iuxta ordine*m* voluminum utriusq*ue* Testamenti dispositus," pp. 163–79, 641–46; "Libri Medici," pp. 181–218, 507–28; "Libri Juris," pp. 219–74, 529–84; "Libri Artium," pp. 275–415, 585–640; "Interpretes librorum Aristotelis," pp. 417–25, 646–48; "Interpretes Juris Civilis," pp. 648–51; "Interpretes Juris Canonici," pp. 651–52; "Scriptores in Hippocratem," pp. 652–53; "Scriptores in Cl. Galenum," pp. 653–55.

The *index Autorum in hoc volumine* (not paged) occupies Oooo–[Xxxx 4], i.e., 60 pages in three columns. In 1620 Thomas James published his *Catalogus universalis librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* . . . (Oxoniae: Johannes Lichfield & Jacobus Short, Impensis Bodleianis; 4°); pp. [xiv], 539, 36, in two columns. An *Appendix ad Catalogum librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana qui prodiit Anno Domini 1620, Editio Secunda, Recognita, & Authoribus plus minus 3,000 locupletata*, was printed at Oxford in 1635, pp. [ii], 208, in two columns. From 1620 on, these were arranged alphabetically by authors. The value of these for persons interested in early seventeenth-century England is obvious.

1607 (52) Index novus librorum imprimis catholicorum theologorum, aliorumque celebriorum auctorum . . . qui precedente hyberno semestri partim omnino novi partim . . . in lucem prodierunt pro Italia, Hispania, Gallia . . . accurate confectus.

Moguntiae, J. Albinus, 1607. 4°. BN: Q 976

A1–C4 in fours. Includes books published in 1607 only. These are classified under such heads as theology, law, medicine, history, politics, geography, philosophy, poetry, music, German books, books in other vulgar tongues such as French, Spanish, Italian.

1608 (53) Bibliothecae Trajectinae Catalogus.

Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1608. 4°. BM

Not paged. A1–Z4, Aa1–Qq4 in fours. No index. The classification is a general one beginning with theology. It was reissued, enlarged, in two parts in 1670, again at Utrecht. fo. BM

1608 (54) Angelus Roccha. Bibliotheca Angelica litteratorum litterarumq*ue* amatorum commoditati dicata Romae in aedibus Augustinianis.

Romae, S. Paulinus, 1608. 8°. BN

Pp. 94. A shelf list of the library named after the compiler of the catalogue. It is roughly equivalent to a subject index.

1609 (55) Theodorus Petreius [Peeters]. Bibliotheca cartusiana sive illustrium sacri cartusiensis ordinis scriptorum catalogus. . .

Coloniae, A. Hieratus, 1609. 8°. BN; BM

Pp. 310 and *index alphabeticus Cartusianae huius bibliothecae* (5 pp.). B, p. 55 (Petzholdt, p. 161), no doubt means to refer to this work when he names "The Bibliotheca Cartusiana (Coloniae, 1609)," but it might be difficult to find it without the compiler's name.

1610 (56) [Georg Draud.] Bibliotheca exotica; sive catalogus officinalis librorum peregrinis linguis usualibus scriptorum, videlicet gallica, italica, hispanica, belgica, anglica, danica, bohemica, ungarica, etc. omnium quotquot in officinis bibliopolarum indagari potuerunt, et in nundinis, Francofurtensibus prostant, ac venales habentur. La bibliothèque universail, contenant le catalogue de tous les livres, qui ont este imprimès ce siècle passè, aux langues Françoise . . . & autres, qui sont aujourdhuy plus connues, depuis l'an 1500 jusques à l'an prèsent 1610 distribuée en certain ordre selon les matières y contenues, & les surnoms des autheurs.

Francofurti, P. Kopf, 1610. 4°. BN and B Maz; JCB

Pp. 219. Note No. 48, above. The method of classification can be illustrated by a few examples: P. 3; "Libri Gallici theologici protestan-

tium," arranged alphabetically by authors' names; works "incertorum authorum" are arranged alphabetically by title. P. 15, "Libri Gallici theologici papistarum." P. 43, "Libri Gallici juridici." There are relatively few books in Italian or Spanish. Draud republished this bibliography with additions through 1624 (Francofurti: B. Ostern, 1625; 4°). BN and B Maz; BM; HCL; UC. Pp. 302. (Petzholdt, p. 71.)

1611 (57) Georg Draud. Bibliotheca librorum germanicorum classica. . .

Franckfurt am Mayn, Johann Saur, 1611. 4°.

B Maz; BM; UC

This bibliography of German books Draud republished also, with additions through 1624 (Franckfurt am Mayn: Egenoff Emmeln, in Verlegung B. Ostern, 1625; 4°). Pp. 759 and index. B Maz; BM; NYP.

1611 (58) Georg Draud. Bibliotheca classica, sive, catalogus officinalis, in quo singuli singulorum facultatum ac professionum libri, qui in quavis fere lingua extant . . . singulis classibus et rubricis subnexa, ordine alphabetico recensentur. . .

Francofurti, N. Hoffmannus, 1611. 4°.

BN; B Maz; LC; UC; JCB

Pp. 1253 and an index of 72 three-column pages. The copy at BM (Francofurti apud Joannem Saurium, impensis Petri Kopfii, 1611; 4°) has 1,253 pages without index. This work, too, Draud brought down through 1624. Copies are at B Maz, BN, BM, BPL, HCL, NYP (Francofurti ad Moenum: B. Ostern, 1625; 4°), pp. 1654 and index. This is Draud's most ambitious production and is still very useful. This most indagatory man, this industrious seeker-out and tracker-down, collected over 30,000 items in the edition of 1625. B justly praises Israel Spach's bibliography. Draud's three great monuments deserve high praise also. Cf. Max L. Spirgatis, "Englische Litteratur auf der Frankfurter Messe von 1561–1620," in K. F. O. Dziatzko, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift . . . wesens* ("Sammlung Bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten," Heft 15) (Leipzig, 1902), VII, 37–89.

1612 (59) Catalogus Bibliothecae Amstelredamensis.

Lugduni Batavorum, Henricus ab Haesteus, 1612.

The "Catalogus" takes up 144 pages; the "Nomenclator," 31 pages in two columns. I have seen only the reprint, ed. H. C. Rigge (Amsterdam, 1881). BM.

1612–16 (60) Jean Chapeaville. Auctores qui gesta pontificum Tungrensium, Trajectensium & Leodinensium scripserunt.

Nunc primum studio & industria R.D. Ioannis Chapeavilli . . . typis excusi. . .

Tomus I: Leodii, C. Ouvverx, 1612.

Tomus II: Leodii, C. Ouvverx, 1613.

Tomus III: Leodii, C. Ouvverx, 1616.

B Maz; BM; BPL; HCL; LC; UTS

A collection of historical materials of bibliographical interest, particularly for the general region of Liége.

1615 (61) Laurent Bouchel. La bibliothèque ou thresor du droict françois. Oeuvre auquel non seulement tout ce qui est des matières civiles, criminelles, et beneficiales, ordonnances, & coustumes de la France est sommairement rapporté; mais aussi les questions plus difficiles & remarquables d'icelles y sont expliquées & resoluës par les expositions, traittez, & decisions des plus célèbres jurisconsultes. . .

Paris, Jean Gesselin, 1615. folio. 2 vols. BM

An encyclopedia of law with bibliographical sources referring to more than 600 writers. The work was republished at Paris in 2 volumes in 1666, ed. Jean Bechefer (at B Maz) and in 3 volumes in 1671 (at BM), both in folio.

1618 (62) Joannes Molanus [i.e., Jan Ver Meulen, born at Lille in 1533, died at Louvain in 1585]. Bibliotheca materiarum, docentibus, concionnantibus ac scriptoribus pernecessaria. Accedunt catalogi duo. 1. Catholicorum S. Scripturae interpretum. (Studio A. Schotti). 2. Scholasticorum Theologorum in D. Thomae Aquinatis Summam.

Coloniae Agrippinae, J. Kinchius, 1618. 3 vols. 4°. BM

The last two are mentioned by B, pp. 55 and 57. The work by Molanus occupies pp. [6], 168 (in two columns), and an index, not paged, 8 pages long (in two columns). This is a detailed subject index.

1619 (63) Inventaire ou recueil general de tous les libelles qui ont esté imprimez à Paris depuis l'annee 1600 jusques à present. Assemblez & mis au meilleur ordre qu'il a esté possible, par I.B.C. tant pour le commodité du lecteur que pour la grande diversité des libelles qui y sont. Contenant vingt-cinq volumes, le moindre desquels (prenant la peine de le lire) est bastant de ravir en admiration le lecteur desireux

de voir, les divers changemens de la France, par les François mesmes.

Paris, 1619. 8°. B Maz: 56828 Réserve

I have seen Vol. I only. It contains 58 tracts, covering, all told, about 400 pages, with title-page as above. Each tract has a separate title-page; all are dated 1615. This appears to have been a bookseller's attempt to collect tracts comparable to those in the Thomason Collection and to sell them as if published together. No. 57: *Le vray fidelle catholique françois, sur la declaration du Roy, contre Monsieur le Prince* (Paris: Isaac Mesnier, 1615). No. 58: *Le croquant de Poictou* (1615); no place of publication and, like the title-page at front of volume, no printer's name).

1620 (64) Giovanni Nicolò Pasquali Alidosi. Li dottori bolognesi di legge canonica e civile dal principio di essi per tutto l'anno 1619. . .

Bologna, Bartolomeo Cochi, 1620. 4°. BM; HCL

Pp. 245 and indexes. An "Appendice" (Bologna: Nicolò Tebaldini, 1623; 4°), 79 pages, includes indexes and 1 page of corrections. By the same writer: *I dottori bolognesi di teologia, filosofia, e d'arti liberali dall'anno 1000 per tutto marzo del 1623* (Bologna, N. Tebaldini, 1623; 4°), at BM; pp. 226, including indexes. Also, *Li dottori forestieri che in Bologna hanno letto teologia, filosofia, medicina, & arti liberali* . . . (Bologna: N. Tebaldini, 1623; 4°), at BM; pp. 103, including indexes. Titles of books by these writers are added to brief biographical notices. The motto of the appendix is:

"Petrus ubique Pater,
Legumque Bononia Mater."

1622 (65) Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Civitatis Amstelodamensis.

Amstelodami, ex typographia Ravesteniana, 1622. 4°. BM

An inventory by bookcases, beginning with theology; 51 pages, with the *nomenclator alphabeticus* occupying 42 pages more, in two columns.

1623 (66) Angelo Portenari. Della felicità di Padova. . .

Padova, Pietro Paulo Tozzi, 1623. fo. BM; BPL; HCL; LC

Libro settimo, capitolo terzo, gives bibliographies of works of great citizens.

1625 (67) Joannes Petrus Lotichius. Bibliothecae poeticae pars prima et secunda, in quibus non tantum Thraciae et Graeciae, sed etiam Italiae et Hispaniae poetae celebriores . . . recensentur. . .

Francofurti, L. Jennis, 1625. 8°. BM; LC

Pp. 102. Bound with this are: Pars tertia, 1626 (pp. [24], 224), and Pars quatuor et ultima, 1628 (pp. [20], 229, [1]). English writers are included.

1625 (68) Simon Starowolski. Scriptorum Polonicorum 'EKATONTAΣ; seu centum illustrium Poloniae scriptorum elogia et vitae.

Francofurti, J. de Zetter, 1625. 4°. BM; LC

The hundred are described on pp. 7–132. There are 175 names in the index. Cf. Petzholdt, p. 412.

1629 (69) Bibliotheca nova Tigurinorum publico-privata, selectiorum variarum linguarum, artium et scientiarum librorum ex liberalitate et munificentia bonorum utriusque tam politici quam ecclesiastici ordinis in usum Reipub. Litterariae collecta. Das ist, Newe Bibliotheca welche gmein und eigen einer Ehrlichen Burgerschafft der loblichen Statt Zürych. . .

N.p., 1629. 4°. BN: Q 733; BM: 619.g.25.(2)

In German and Latin in parallel columns, this work consists of interesting talk about books and as such is not purely a bibliography; but its time, place, and purpose make it worth mentioning.

1630 (70) [Petrus Gassendi, 1592–1655.] Catalogus rarorum librorum quos ex Oriente nuper advexit et in publica bibliotheca inclitae Leydensis Academiae deposuit . . . Jacobus Golius, in illa eadem Academia, & Linguarum Orientalium, & Matheseos Professor insignis.

Parisiis, A. Vitray, 1630. 4°. BN; BM

Pp. 12. Arranged first according to format, each format classified alphabetically by authors; many are by Arabic authors. This is an early monument to Leiden's strong position in oriental studies, a position which it maintains to this day.

1631 (71) David Döring. Bibliotheca iureconsultorum. Opus absolutissimum, plane novum et hactenus numquam visum.

Francofurti ad Moenum, typis Wechelianus, sumptibus authoris, 1631. folio. B Maz

A sumptuous folio, 1,637 pages in two columns, this work presumably never was continued beyond Vol. I, which carries the alphabetical list of subjects through "Alytarchia" only. It is an encyclopedic dictionary which includes numerous quotations with their sources. The "Catalogus autorum, ex quibus hic primus tomus diligentiss. collectus," contains some 1,600 names.

1633 (72) Joannes le Paige. Bibliotheca praemonstratensis ordinis. Omnibus religiosis, praesertim vero sancti Augustini Regulam profitentibus, utilis maximéque necessaria.

Parisiis, 1633. folio. BN; BM; LC

Pp. 1082 and *index rerum* of 28 pages. Published without the authorization of the order.

1635 (73) Catalogus interpretum Scripturae, iuxta numerorum ordinem, quo extant in Bibliotheca Bodleiana: olim a D. Jamesio in usum theologorum concinnatus, nunc vero altera fere parte auctior redditus. . . Editio correcta, diu multumque desiderata. . .

Oxoniae, J. Lichfield, 1635. 4°. BM

Pp. 55, in two columns. References are arranged according to the books of the Bible discussed.

1635 (74) Franciscus Lanovius. Chronicon generale Ordinis Minimorum, in quo recensentur illustres ex eo ordine scriptores.

Lutetiae Parisiorum, S. Cramoisy, 1635. folio. BN

1637 (75) [Guido Panciroli.] Guidi Panziroli de claris legum interpretibus libri quatuor. . .

Venetiis, apud M. A. Brogiollum, 1637. 4°. BN; BPL; Nb

Pp. 511 and index. BN has also the second(?) edition (Venetiis: S. Combi et J. La Noù, 1655), pp. 511 and index. BM has an edition (Lipsiae, apud Jo. Frid. Gleditschii B. Filium, 1721; 4°), a composite volume in which this work occupies pp. 1–396. Petzholdt, p. 623, says that there is an edition published at Venice in 1634. I have not seen it.

1637 (76) I. V. [Jean Verneuil]. A Nomenclator of such Tracts and Sermons as have been printed or translated into English upon any place of holy Scripture. . .

Oxford, William Turner, 1637. 24mo. BM

Not paged. The "Nomenclator" occupies [A 4]—[G 5] in twelves. A second edition, also at BM, appeared in 1642: *Johannes Vernulius. A Nomenclator . . . , Now to be had in the most Famous and Publique Library of Sr Thomas Bodley in Oxford* (Oxford: Henry Hall, 1642; 12mo; pp. 211).

1639 (77) André du Saussay. De mysticis Galliae scriptoribus, multiplicique in ea Christianorum rituum origine. . .

Parisiis, S. Cramoisy, 1639. 4°. BM; HCL

Pp. [18], 1199, and index of 54 pages in two columns.

1641 (78) Claude Doresmieulx. Bibliographus Belgicus seu librorum index qui in regiis ac maxime catholicis Belgii Provinciis Anno Christiano M.DC.XL. Novi, vel emendatiores, vel auctiores prodierunt. . .

Insulis, T. le Clercq, 1641. 8°. B Maz

Fourteen pages are devoted to lists of books published in 1640 on theology, law, medicine, history and miscellaneous, poetry, French books, Flemish books.

1643 (79) Philippe Alegambe. Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu, post excusum anno M.DC.VIII. Catalogum R. P. Petri Ribadeneirae . . . nunc hoc novo apparatu librorum ad annum . . . M.DC.XLII. editorum concinnata. . .

Antverpiae, J. Meursius, 1643. folio. BN; LC

Pp. 586 in two columns, with nearly 100 pages of index. A considerable improvement on Ribadeneira, it was in turn improved by Nathanael Sotuello (Romae: J. A. de Lazzaris Varesi, 1676; fo.). Cf. Petzholdt, p. 164.

1643 (80) [Gabriel Naudé.] Bibliothecae Cordesianae catalogus. Cum indice titulorum.

Parisiis, A. Vitray, 1643. 4°. BM

Pp. 542. About 8,000 volumes are listed, in 27 categories, and within these categories according to format; e.g., "Bibliotecarii" in folio (p. 132), in octavo (p. 133), in quarto (p. 133); "Litteratores, Oratores, & Poëtae" in folio (p. 453), in quarto (p. 461), in octavo (p. 488). The work is of some interest because this collection of Jean de Cordes, canon of Limoges (1570–1642), was purchased by Cardinal Mazarin at the suggestion of Naudé, who hastily threw together this catalogue. The collection was presented to the Bibliothèque du Roi. Thus the Bibliothèque Mazarine was started. B, p. 371, seems to imply that this is not a bibliography. It impresses me as being an informal one, well classified according to main subjects. I have not seen Naudé's *Bibliotheca mystica clarissimi viri Ludovici Servini, sex alii longe ditioribus, scilicet, Arnaldi, Paschasii, Martyllerii, Hardivillerii, Turgotii et Tarini, in antecessum praemissa* (n.p., 1626; 4°; pp. 8). At BN

1646 (81) JOHN WILKINS. Ecclesiastes, or, a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching as it fals under the Rules of Art. Shewing the most proper Rules and Directions, for Method, Invention, Books, Expression, whereby a Minister may be furnished with such Abilities as may make him a Workman that needs not to bee ashamed. . .

London, M. F. for Samuel Gillibrand, 1646. 4°. BM

Pp. [ii], 75, extended to 98 (misnumbered 108) in the second edition, 1647. This popular manual for preachers, containing much bibliographical information and frequently reprinted, was pointed out to me by Dr. Perry Miller.

[1647?] (82) Catalogus librorum Genevae impressorum, quique ibidem inveniuntur usque ad annum 1647.

[Genevae], J. et P. Chouët jun., n.d. 8°. BN: Q 8639

Pp. 16. Place and date of publication are omitted. On the last pages are listed a score of "livres Italiens. Libri in lingua Italiana."

1648–49 (83) JACOPO GADDI. De scriptoribus non ecclesiasticis. . . . In prima parte agitur de iis, qui opera ediderunt ante annum Salut. M.D.L. duobus, & amplius annorum millibus convolutis.

Florentiae, A. Massa, 1648. fo. 2 vols. BN; HCL; LC

Vol. I: pp. viii, 8, 296, and 12 pages of additions and corrections.
Vol. II: Lugduni, Ioann. Pet. Chancel, 1649.
Pp. (6), 386. A biographical dictionary which names the works of the authors included.

1650 (84) [JOHN SPENCER.] Catalogus universalis librorum omnium in bibliotheca Collegii Sionii apud Londinenses, una cum elencho interpretum S.S. Scripturae, casuistarum, theologorum scholasticorum, &c. Omnia per J.S. Bibliothecarium (quanta potuit diligentia) ordine alphabetico disposita, in unum collecta & propriis sumptibus in studiosorum usum excusa.

Londini, R. Leybourne, 1650. 4°. BN: Q 1726; LC

Pp. 162. Arranged alphabetically by surnames of authors.
Bound with this copy is *Catalogus interpretum S. S. Scripturae . . . juxta numerorum ordinem, quo extant in Bibliothecae Collegii de Sione . . .* Par I. S. . . (Londini: Leybourne, 1650).
Pp. 36. Arranged (1) according to books of Scripture discussed, (2) according to various subjects treated, according to parts of Aquinas dis-

cussed, and so on. Cf. Mary Bateson, *Catalogue of the library of Syon Monastery* . . . (Cambridge, 1898). (MS catalogue of books to 1526).

1651 (85) Catalogue des livres imprimez depuis quelques années, touchant la grace, la pénitence, &c.

Paris, 1651. 8°. BN: Q 6460

Pp. 14. A bookseller's list of works published on special religious topics between 1641 and 1651.

1651 (86) Gijsbert Voet. Exercitia et bibliotheca studiosi theologiae . . . editio secunda.

Ultrajecti, Johannes à Waesberge, 1651. 12mo. BM; HCL (1644)

Long preface not paged; then pp. 678 and *index capitum*. Liber II, sect. I, i, "De apparatu universali, seu de libris generalibus"; ii, "De investigandis ac cognoscendis omnis generis autoribus, eorumque editionibus."

1654 (87) Peter Borellus [Pierre Borel]. Bibliotheca chimica, seu catalogus librorum philosophicorum hermeticorum in quatuor millium circiter, authorum chimicorum, vel de transmutatione metallorum, re minerali, & arcanis . . . usque ad annum 1653 continentur. . .

Parisiis, Du Mesnil & Jolly, 1654. 12mo. BM; HCL; LC

Pp. 276. Arranged alphabetically by authors. A genuine bibliography of this special subject. The author's interests were as widely diversified as Bishop Wilkins'. Petzholdt, p. 540.

1654 (88) Théophile Raynaud. Erotemata de malis ac bonis libris, deque iusta aut iniusta, eorumdem confixione.

Lugduni, sumptibus Ioan. Antonii Huguetan & Marci Antonii Ravaud, 1654. 4°. BM; BPL; LC

Pp. [viii], 378, plus index of [16] pages in two columns, [3].

1656 (89) Catalogus librorum bibliothecae publicae, quae est in Illustrium Frisiae Ordinum Academia Franekerianae.

Franekerae, Idzardus Alberti, 1656. 4°. BM

Pp. [vi], 176; arranged in rough classes beginning with theology. I have not seen the edition of 1601, also 4°.

1657 (90) Giovanni Antonio Bumaldi [pseudonym of Ovidio Montalbani]. Bibliotheca botanica, seu herbariistarum scriptorum promota synodia. . .

Bononiae, typ. haeredum Benatii, 1657. 24mo.
BN; BM; HCL

Pp. 33–110: Recentiores Latini, seu Itali, Germani, Galli, Hispanive, tum Graecae, quam Latinae veteri, aut etiam Arabicae scholae addicti; quorum opera botanica reperiuntur.

1659 (91) [Sebastian Cramoisy.] Bibliographia Cramosiana: sive Catalogus librorum, quos Sebastianus Cramoisy, ab anno 1654 ubi desiit Bibliographia Gallica universalis, usque ad hunc annum 1659 excudit. . .

Parisiis, 1659. 4°. Not seen. BN

Twelve pages. Title from Lerreux, *Gallia Typographica*, I. 162.

1659 (92) Petrus Lambecius. Prodromus historiae literariae. . .

Hamburgi, sumptibus autoris, typ. Michaelis Piperi, 1659. fo. BM

Pp. 311, plus 60 (not numbered) of index in two columns, plus tables. This carefully prepared introduction to the history of literature contains much bibliographical material. Petzholdt, p. 75.

1660 (93) Joachim Johannes Mader. Scriptorum insignium, qui in celeberrimis, praesertim Lipsiensi, Wittenbergensi, Frankofordiana ad Oderam Academiis, a fundatione ipsarum, usque ad annum Christi 1515 floruerunt, centuria. . .

Helmaestadi, Henning Muller, 1660. 4°. BM; NYP

Sixty-four pages, not numbered, are devoted to the catalogue. Petzholdt, p. 310, says that the author was Conrad Wimpina.

1664 (94) Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Bibliothecarius quadripartitus. I. Pars, quae prolegomenis absolvitur, agit de officio bibliothecarii, bibliothecis, etc. II de theologia biblica. III de theologia patristica: cum appendice Leonis Africani hactenus *ανεκδοτῳ*, de scriptoribus arabicis. IV de theologia topica; symbolica, et systematica; tam universali, quam particulari.

Tiguri, Melchior Stauffacher, 1664. 4°.
BN; BM; HCL; LC; UC

See Petzholdt, p. 26, who does not point out that Part I, cap. iii (pp. 34–69), is an alphabetical list of English theological writers with titles of their works, followed by an index of the subjects which they discussed.

1665 (95) [Petrus Scavenius.] Designatio librorum in qualibet facultate, materia & lingua rariorum, summa cura, tum quoad librorum, editionumque perfectionem, tum quoad eorundem compactionem varijs in locis, in amorem patriae, & supplementum instructissimae Bibliothecae Regiae, conquisitorum. [Motto:] Nullus Amicus magis liber, quam Liber.

Hafniae, Christian Weringius, anno 1665. 4°. BM

The catalogue occupies pp. 1–376; it has the usual rough divisions into theology, etc. The index of authors occupies pp. 377–432 and is in two columns.

1666 (96) Magnè de Marolles (Abbè de Villeloin). Catalogue de livres d'estampes et de figures en taille douce. Avec un dénombrement des pièces qui y sont contenues. . .

Paris, F. Léonard, 1666. 8°. BN

Pp. 20–167 are occupied by the catalogue, which is so loosely arranged that even the *table* does not make it readily usable.

1668 (97) Catalogus bibliothecae publicae Amstelodamensis.

Amstelodami, C. Commelinus, 1668. 4°. BN: Q 1562

Pp. 3–83 are devoted to the catalogue, which is a rough subject bibliography arranged according to the grouping of the books on the shelves. The subject headings are: "Biblia sacra," "Concilia & canones ecclesiastici," "Patres," "Theologici scholastici," "Theologici reformati," "Theologici pontificii," "Historici ecclesiastici," "Jurisconsulti," "Medici," "Philosophi," "Mathematici," "Historici," "Philologi," "Oratores," "Poetae," "Libri belgici," "Rabbini," "Libri manuscripti."

1670 (98) Valentinus Henricus Voglerus. Introductio universalis in notitiam cuiuscunque generis bonorum scriptorum.

Helmestadii, Henning Muller, 1670. 4°. BM

Pp. [14], 114, [14 of indexes]. An informal but invaluable work which lists nearly 500 writers, including many bibliographers. There are 29 chapters; e.g., chap. i, "Quibus modis scriptorum notitia possit acquiri: quam varia item ratione ab aliis haec res sit tractata"; chap. ii, "De praecipuis scriptoribus, qui de doctorum virorum aetatibus simpliciter egerunt"; chap. iii, "De varii generis catalogis librorum, eorumque praecipuis quibusdam scriptoribus." Of the 26 remaining chapters, some are devoted to the best books in theology, law, medicine, philosophy, arts and sciences, history, oratory, poetry, grammar and criticism, writers in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and Latin, Italian, Spanish and French, English, German, Belgian, learned men, learned women, etc. This, then, is a Sonnenschein of 1670.

1671 (99) Simon Paulli. Historia litteraria, sive dispositio librorum omnium facultatum ac artium, secundum materias in usum philobiblorum. . .

Argentorati, sumptibus autoris, 1671. 8°. BN; BM; LC

Pp. 182 and indexes. Dedicated to Daniel Elzevir, this book classifies works in four main divisions—theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. The numerous subheads and the *index materiarum universalis* make this bookseller's catalogue useful as a subject bibliography. There is a 22-page continuation for the year 1672.

1675 (100) [William Cooper.] A Catalogue of Chymicall Books. In three Parts. In the first and second Parts are contained such chymical Books as have been written originally, or translated into English. . . In the third Part is contained a Collection of such things published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the *Royal Society* (for ten years together) as pertain to Chymistry, or the Study of Nature by Art in the Animal, Vegetal, and Mineral Kingdoms.

London, [William Cooper], 1675. 4°. BM; HCL; LC

Not paged. Part I occupies 12 leaves; Part II, 17 leaves; Part III, 11 leaves. One copy at BM is bound with Cooper's *A Philosophicall Epitaph*, and two translations: (*a*) Glauber's *Golden Ass*, (*b*) *Jehior the three Principles or Originall of all Things* (1673). Cooper, who signs himself "W. C., or twice five hundred," addresses prefaces to Robert Boyle and to Elias Ashmole. In Parts I and II the arrangement is alphabetical by authors; in Part III, by subjects. Under the heading "Chymical Books" are included works on astrology, on transmutation of metals, on the philosophers' stone, on distillation, in addition to books on chemistry and physics in the meaning of today. Petzholdt, p. 540.

1677 (101) Ambrosio Altamura. Bibliotheca Dominicana . . . primo ab ordinis constitutione, usque ad annum 1600.

Romae, 1677. folio. BN; HCL

Arranged by years, beginning with 1216; 590 pages in two columns. *Index nominum scriptorum*, pp. 551–70; *index cognominum scriptorum*, pp. 571–90.

1678 (102) Jean Garnier. Systema bibliothecae parisiensis Societatis Jesu.

Parisiis, S. Marbre-Cramoisy, 1678. 4°. BN; BM

A guide to the library and, as such, a rough subject index of the books on the shelves. Petzholdt, p. 26.

1678 (103) Gisbertus Edingh. Catalogus librorum qui Aureliae in Bibliothecae inclytae nationis Germaniae extant. Secundum seriem literarum alphabeti digestus.

Aureliae, 1678. 8°. BM

Pp. [xi], 176. The catalogue, arranged by large classes—theology, and so on—occupies pp. 1–169. I have not seen the catalogue of the library at Orléans compiled by Emmerick Neelergord and published in 1664.

1679 (104) Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae, a clariss. VV. Petro et Iacobo Puteanis, ordine alphabetico primum distributus. Tum secundum scientias & artes a . . . Ismaele Bullialdo digestus. Nunc vero editus a Iosepho Quesnel, Parisino et bibliothecario. Cum indice alphabetico auctorum.

Parisiis, Impensis Directionis . . . , 1679. 2 vols. 8°. BM; LC; UC

Vol. I: pp. 52, [4], 510.

Vol. II: pp. 631. *Index authorum*, pp. 557–631, in two columns. A detailed subject catalogue of this famous library. The method of classification is set forth in Vol. I, pp. 11–52 of the prefatory pages. Many of the books in this library passed into the Christie-Miller collection, sold at auction at Sotheby's in May, 1920 (there is a printed catalogue of this sale).

[1680?] (105) Asceticorum, vulgo spiritualium opusculorum, quae inter Patrum opera reperiuntur, indiculus.

N.p., n.d. [1680?]. B Maz: 19387 pièce 2

Pp. 56 and index giving (1) *authores indiculi* ("Litera *b* denotat Authorum Benedictum"), 4 pages in two columns; (2) *praecipuarum materiarum indiculi synopsis, & peritia*, 11 pages in two columns. Of these, (2) is a subject index. In the body of the work the arrangement is chronological, beginning with Philo Judaeus and ending with Maphaeus Vegius.

1681 (106) Catologo de varios libros de historia y otras materias en lengua Española. . .

Paris, L. Billaine, 1681. 8°. BN

The catalogue occupies pp. 2–20. Some of the subject headings are: "Libros de Historia," pp. 2–10; "Libros de Leyes," pp. 10–11; "Libros de Entretenimiento, Novelas, Poesias, &c.," pp. 15–18.

1681 (107) Claude du Molinet. Tractatus singulares bibliotecae S. Genovefae parisiensis: de rebus sacris, antiquis, physicis.

Paris, J. Langlois, 1681. 12mo. BN

Pp. 20. At the end: "Le Bibliotequaire de Sainte Geneviève ayant fait ce Catalogue pour son usage particulier, plusieurs de ses Amis luy en ayant demandé des Copies, il l'a fait imprimer pour leur satisfaction." A genuine subject bibliography; some of the headings under which titles are grouped are: "De gemmis," "De plantis," "De piscibus," "De ludis," and, most jovial of all, "De poculentis."

1681 (108) Carolus Josephus Morotius [Carlo Giuseppe Morozzo]. Theatrum chronologicum sacri cartusiensis ordinis. . .

Taurini, J. Sinibaldus, 1681. fo. BN; BM

Pp. 343. Indexes: pp. 319–43, in two columns.

1682 (109) Rudolf Capell. Lectionum bibliothecariarum memorabilium syntagma. . .

Hamburgi, G. Wolff, 1682. 12mo. BM; LC

Not paged; the page measures about 3 × 5 inches. A–Z, Aa–Gg [viii], in twelves. A handbook for librarians.

1683 (110) Weekly Memorials for the ingenious: or, an account of books lately set forth in several languages. With other accounts relating to arts and sciences.

London, H. Faithorne and J. Kersey, 1683. 4°.
BN; BM; HCL; LC; Nb; JCB

Dedicated to Robert Boyle, this volume contains 50 numbers which give an interesting cross-section of the thought of the day. A book review extending to 390 pages, its alphabetical table constitutes a subject index. At BM is another compilation with the same title, running to 29 numbers, "sold by R. Chiswel, W. Crook, S. Crouch, London, 1683"; 4°.

1685 (111) Leonardo Cozzando. Della libraria bresciana. Parte prima.

Brescia, G. M. Rizzardi, 1685. 12mo. BN; BM

Pp. 338, including index. There is another edition (Brescia, 1694), Prima e seconda parte, at BN and BM, paged continuously: parte i, pp. 1–219; parte ii, pp. 221–308.

1686 (112) Philippe Couplet. Catalogus Patrum Soc. Jesu qui post obitum S. Francisci Xaverii, ab anno 1581 usque ad 1681 in Imperio Sinarum Jesu Christi fidem propagarunt.

Ubi singulorum nomina, ingressus, praedicatio, mors, sepultura, libri Sinice editi recensentur. . .

Parisiis, R. J. B. de la Caille, 1686. 4°. BM

Pp. 44.

1686 (113) Georg Abraham Mercklin. Cynosura medica sive de scriptis medicis liber II comprehendens Indicem Rerum & Materiarum Med. hoc est, Loca Communia omnium titulorum vel thematum medicorum potiorum, alphabetico ordine ita disposita, ut inquirenti, hac praelucente face, primo statim intuitu, quicquid desideraverit, luculentissime in oculos incurrat. . .

Norimbergae, J. G. Endterus, 1686. 4°. BN

Mercklin edited Linden's *De scriptis medicis* (Norimb., 1686). At BN this *Cynosura* is bound with it, a good arrangement, for this 162-page volume is a subject index to Linden's catalogue, which lists authors' names alphabetically. Petzholdt, p. 573.

1687 (114) [Claude Bernard de Chassan.] Histoire abrégée du siècle courant, depuis l'an 1600 jusqu'à présent. Avec un catalogue des historiens du meme siècle. Par le Sr de Ch.

Paris, Charles Coignard, 1687. 12mo. B Maz; BN

The *Histoire* occupies 604 pages and is arranged chronologically. The "Catalogue des historiens," pp. [605–11], gives first general historians, then historians of special countries or districts.

1688 (115) [Robert Boyle.] Catalogus librorum tractatumque philosophicorum a Dom. Roberto Boyle, nobili Anglo scriptorum; una cum ordine vel tempore quo quilibet eorum evulgatus fuit. Cui accessit librorum etiam theologicorum, qui ab eodem authore exarati sunt, nomenclaturus.

London, Edward Jones, 1688. 8°. BM

Pp. 6–29 are devoted to the catalogue. An English edition appeared in 1689 and 1690. Apparently this work is not referred to by J. F. Fulton in his *Bibliography of . . . Robert Boyle* ("Procedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society," Vol. III [1931–33]).

1688–94 (116) Agostino Fontana [Count Scagnelli]. Amphitheatrum legale, seu bibliotheca legalis amplissima in qua recense*n*tur omnes authores cum omnibus eorum operibus in

jure editis, et in qua datur etiam sedes praecisa abecedario indice designato omnium, & quarum cumque rerum verborum, & materiarum, quae in corpore juris pontificii, & Caesarei ac in supradictorum authorum operibus tam exprofesso, quam sparsim sed fuse pertractantur. . .

7 parts. Parmae, Jos. ab Oleo & Hippolito Rosati, 1688–94. fo. BM; LC

Part i, pp. 43, 710; Part ii, pp. 479; Part iii, pp. 442; Part iv, pp. 819; Part v, pp. 838; Part vi, pp. 282; Part vii, pp. 482. Parts i, ii, and iii are arranged alphabetically by names of authors. Parts iv, v, vi, and vii constitute a detailed subject index to Parts i, ii, and iii. A very important bibliography, running to more than 4,000 pages in folio, which Petzholdt (pp. 625 f.) says mistakenly is "von sehr wenigem bibliographischem Interesse."

1697 (117) Girolamo Ghilini. Teatro d'huomini letterati. . . Venetia, per li Guerigli, 1697. 4°.
BM; 1647: HCL; LC; UC

Two volumes: Vol. I, pp. (4 of index in 2 columns, not numbered) 224; Vol. II, pp. (6 of index in 2 columns not numbered) 242. Biographical and bibliographical.

1697 (118) Johannes Moller. Homonymoscopia historico-philologico-critica, sive schediasma παρεργικον de scriptoribus homonymis. . .

Hamburgii, G. Liebezeit, 1697. 8.°
B Maz; BM; HCL; NYP

Pp. 965, including the differentiation of 50 writers named Johannes Moller, or Müller, a section no doubt worked out with painful care by Johannes Moller.

1698 (119) [Francis Bernard.] A Catalogue of the Library of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard, Fellow of the College of Physicians. . . Being a large Collection of the best Theological, Historical, Philological, Medicinal and Mathematical Authors. . . which will be sold by Auction . . . Octob. 4, 1698.

London, 1698. 4°. BM

Part i, pp. [vi], 192; Part ii, pp. 151; Part iii, pp. 87; appendix (bundles), pp. 19. Prices fetched are added in MS. More than 15,000 items arranged by subjects; more than 4,000 medical books.

1698 (120) [Wolfgang Adam Lauterbach.] Selecta bibliotheca juridica tripartita alphabetica. I. Nominalis. II. Realis. III. Ad librorum & titulorum in pandectis seriem directa, ex compendio juris Lauterbachiano collecta.

Stutgardiae, J. G. Cotta, 1698. 8°. BM

The "Bibliotheca," a subject bibliography with detailed subclassification, occupies 224 pages.

1699 (121) Thomas Barlow. 'Αυτοσχεδιασματα. De studio theologiae, or Directions for the Choice of Books in the Study of Divinity. . . Publish'd from the Original Manuscript by William Offley. . .

Oxford, L. Lichfield, 1699. 4°.
BM: 125.k.17; HCL; Nb; UC

Pp. 79. The BM copy is interleaved and is heavily annotated in ink.

1699 (122) Bibliotheca septentrionis eruditi sive syntagma tractatum de scriptoribus illius, seorsim hactenus editorum, quo, I. Alb. Bartholini Liber de scriptis Danorum, Norwagorum & Islandorum, posthumus, a Joh. Mollero . . . emendatus . . . ac indice cognominum alphabetico, recens illustratus; II. Joh. Schefferi Suecia literata, hypomnematis historico-criticis ab eodem J. Mollero illustrata; III. Joh. Molleri, Introductio ad historicam Ducatuum Slesvicensis & Holsatici . . . ; IV. Eiusdem Praefatio nova de gentium borealium in litteras meritis, & historicae literariae atque ecclesiasticae scriptoribus, historico-apologetica, junctim exhibentur.

Lipsiae, Sumptibus Gothofr. Liebezeitzii, Bibliop. Hamburg. Typis Frid. Conr. Greffingeri, 1699. 8°. BM

Two volumes: Vol. I, pp. 466, 50, [17], [10], 475 (plus 26 inserted at p. 346 of Scheffer), and corrections; Vol. II, pp. [12], 64, [12], 292, 648. More than 2,000 pages of materials largely bibliographical on *ultima Thule*, no small amount for scholars of the eighteenth century to pore over; an epic performance of which Johannes Moller is the hero. Petzholdt, p. 390.

1699 (123) Historicorum Burgundiae conspectus. Ex Bibliotheca Philiberti de la Mare Regii Ordinis Militis, Senatoris Divionensis.

Divione, J. Ressayre, 1699. 4°. BM; HCL; UC

An informal list of books and mss on the history of Burgundy.

From the title alone it is impossible to know whether a book printed in the sixteenth or seventeenth century contains information valuable from the bibliographical point of view. The following works may be useful, but I have not seen them.

Alberto Pasquali. De optimo philosophorum genere libri duo.
Venetiis, J. Antonius et fratres de Sabio, 1532. 4°. BN

Bernardinus Gasnerus. Nomenclatura doctorum in utroque jure & canonico & civili passim per compendia litterarum citatorum. . .
Augustae Vindelicorum, Henricus Steynerus, 1543. 4°.

Alfonsus Lupeus. Catalogus auctorum qui post Galeni aevum Hippocrati & Galeno contradixerunt.
Valentiae Edetanorum, 1589. 12mo.

Alfonsus Fernandes. Concertatio praedicatoria pro ecclesia catholica contra haereticos . . . cum notitia scriptorum. . .
Salmanticae, Didacus Cussius, 1615. fo.

In spite of their titles, these are not bibliographical:

Catalogus jureconsultorum veterum, quotquot aut vita, aut scriptis celebres sunt, succincto carmine descripti, Joanne Lorichio Hadamario authore. . .
Basileae, J. Oporinus, 1545.
An encyclopedia of names with descriptive verses.

Daniel Tossanus. Compendium of the Fathers . . . written in Latin, and faithfully Englished by A. S., Gent.
London, 1635.
Not a bibliography.

Alfonsus Ciaconius [Alfonse Chacon]. Bibliotheca libros et scriptos ferme cunctos ab initio mundi ad annum MDLXXXIII. ordine alphabetico complectens.
Paris, 1731.
An encyclopedia of names.

Finally, I would add to these notes mention of two works published after 1700 but concerned mainly with books printed

before that date. Although they are included by Petzholdt, readers of these pages will be glad to be reminded of them.

Johannes van Abkoude. Naam register of verzaameling van Nederduijtsche Boeken die zedert de Jaaren 1640. tot 1741 zyn uytgekomen.

Leyden, van Abkoude, 1743. 4°. 5 vols.

Reissued by R. Arremberg at Rotterdam in 1773. See Petzholdt, pp. 374–76.

Theophil Georgi. Allgemeines Europäisches Bücher-Lexicon.

Leipzig, T. Georgi, 1742–58. fo. 5 vols., 3 supplements.

Arranged alphabetically by names of authors, with *anonyma* thrown in by title. It is really a *summa* of all the fair-catalogues and is most informative for books published down to 1700. Although it is not easy to use, it does not deserve the faint praise bestowed by Petzholdt (p. 282), who did not realize that Georgi would remain invaluable for a long, long time—until, in short, a complete universal catalogue can be drawn up.

Peering as it were furtively into the eighteenth century, I had planned to close this paper here; but when Mr. Charles Martel read it, he suggested logically that the usefulness of this list would be materially increased if a few additional works printed after 1699 were mentioned, such as, say, certain of the extensive histories of scholarship:

(1) Jacob Friedrich Reimmann. Versuch einer Einleitung in die historiam literariam sowohl insgemein als auch in die historiam literariam derer teutschen insonderheit. . .

Halle im Magdeburgischen, 1713–41. 8°. 6 vols.

The copy at the University of Chicago (the only one I have seen) is made up from at least two editions.

(2) Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling. Vollständige Historie der Gelahrheit. . .

Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1734–36. 8°. 5 vols.

(3) Daniel George Morhof. Polyhistor[4].

Lubecae, 1747. 4°. 2 vols.

(4) Carl Joseph Bouginé. Handbuch der allgemeinen Litterargeschichte nach Heumanns Grundriss.

Zürich, 1789–1802. 8°. 6 vols. in 7.

(5) Johann Georg Theodor Graesse. Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literärgeschichte aller bekannten Völker der Welt von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit.

Dresden und Leipzig, 1837–59. 8°. 4 vols. in 13 parts.

Of these, the greatest is Graesse, for he decided that it would go hard with him if he did not include in his work everything that his predecessors had and a good deal more besides. Anyone wishing to know the names of others of his predecessors will find them listed in *Lehrbuch*, I, Abth. i, 8 f. Georg Schneider regards these as "Ausgrabungen," with more than a suggestion of a sniff (*Handbuch der Bibliographie*[4], p. 54), but they are genuinely useful to those who bear in mind the dates at which they were produced. Christian Friedrich Harless' *Die Litteratur der ersten hundert Jahre nach der Erfindung der Typographie, in den meisten Hauptfächern der Wissenschaften* . . . (Leipzig, 1840) was thrown together in a great hurry, by this great precursor of Konrad Haebler, to celebrate the fourth centenary of the beginnings of printing. If it were revised thoroughly, it would supply a much needed survey of the contents of incunabula and early sixteenth-century books.

Other works to which Mr. Martel suggests that scholars would like to have their attention directed are these:

(1) Charles Beaulieux. Catalogue des ouvrages de la Réserve XVI[e] siècle (1501–1540) de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris.

Revue des Bibliothèques XIX (1909), 1–112, 209–336; XX (1910), 1–78 (with indexes); "Supplément" (1501–50), XXVII and XXVIII (1917, 1918), 1–64; XXIX (1919), 1–51; XXX and XXXI (1920, 1921), 57–110, 181–225; index to the whole, pp. 202–25.

The arrangement is alphabetical by author. Also published separately.

(2) Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in Spain and of Spanish Books printed elsewhere in Europe before 1601 now in the British Museum. [By Henry Thomas].

London, 1921.

(3) Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in France and of French Books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum. [By Henry Thomas].

London, 1924.

(4) Wouter Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg. Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540.

's Gravenhage, 1923–34.

There are four supplements. The arrangement is alphabetical by authors, with indexes of printers, publishers, places, etc., and also subject and alphabetical indexes. A continuation has been announced.

(5) James B. Childs. Sixteenth-century Books. . . (In *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XVII [1925], Part ii, 73–152).

(6) Joseph Benzing. Der Buchdruck des 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Eine Literaturübersicht.

Leipzig, 1936. [*Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 68.]

A list of writers on the various subjects associated with the publication of books in the sixteenth century.

* * *

Such are some of the efforts of our ancestors and contemporaries to meet the demands of the rising tide of books during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The investigator in the twentieth century will be aided at every turn of his researches into the past by such books as those named here. Whether the works of these past centuries were more or less successful for their times than are the labors of twentieth-century bibliographers we shall not know until they have been assembled and examined more completely than they have yet been. At present, the mere titles of hosts of them remain unknown; and we may be sure that they will remain unknown until somebody is interested enough to go and look at them.

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EARLY MUSIC PUBLISHING IN THE UNITED STATES*

By OLIVER STRUNK

BY ONE of those strange coincidences which delight the historian and at the same time provide the essayist with convenient points of departure, the year 1787, which saw the writing of the Constitution of the United States, saw also the solid beginnings of music publishing in this country as a separate and independent enterprise. The scene of these beginnings was Philadelphia, the publisher and composer a certain William Brown, the engraver John Aitken; the publication itself bore a dedication to no less a person than Francis Hopkinson, signer of the Declaration of Independence and our first native composer. *Three Rondos for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord. Composed and Humbly Dedicated to the Honourable Francis Hopkinson, Esq. by William Brown. Philadelphia. Printed and Sold by the Author. Price Two Dollars. J. Aitken Sculp*—so runs the full title of this musical landmark, which the composer-publisher himself, in inviting subscribers, had called "the first attempt of the kind in America."

Of the several persons connected with this "first attempt," it is Aitken who interests us most. In 1788 we meet with him again as the engraver of Hopkinson's *Seven Songs;* in 1789 as the engraver of Reinagle's *Chorus Sung before Gen. Washington.* What interests us still more is his anonymous, yet evident, share in the publication of the one piece of music which has come down to us from the various local celebrations of the ratification—Reinagle's *Federal March as Performed in the Grand*

* Read, December 30, 1937, at a meeting of the Society held in Philadelphia.

Procession in Philadelphia the 4th of July 1788. Jeweler, goldsmith, engraver, composer, and proprietor of a "musical repository," John Aitken was associated with music in Philadelphia for nearly twenty years, and as late as 1802 published and deposited for copyright a musical advertisement of his own composition, *The Goldsmith's Rant. A New Song: Sung by the Sons of the Immortal Tubalcain*, in connection with which he called special attention to his readiness to supply "silver cyphers for carriages."

Without attempting to trace, step by step, the steady growth, from these tentative beginnings, of the flourishing industry which was already firmly established by the turn of the century; without attempting to follow, in detail, the development of this industry on the technical side, its substitution of lithography for engraving, its introduction of the illustrated title-page, one may characterize the catalogues and the practices of our first music publishers in one phrase—they were essentially English. And quite naturally so. The musical likes and dislikes of our forefathers were those of their contemporaries in London; our early concert programs were reproductions —on a small scale, to be sure—of those arranged by Salomon and Pleyel. In a similar way the catalogues of our first music publishers echo those of their British colleagues; indeed the publishers themselves were, for the most part, Englishmen, and more than one of them had simply transferred his operations from the Old World to the New. Reinagle, Carr, and Hewitt thrive in the main, as do Longman and Preston, on Arnold, Shield, Dibden, and Hook; the Continental composers who figure in their advertisements—the "English" Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Pleyel—are those sanctioned by acceptance in London. As to physical appearance, the actual publications differ at first from the English product only in imprint and in their uniformly inferior execution. In format and style the one is scarcely to be distinguished from the other. So far as

practice is concerned, one could wish that the tradition had been quite different. For to the perpetual embarrassment of bibliographer, historian, and collector, our early music publishers had learned from English example that sheet music, to sell continuously, ought never to be dated and that engravers' plates are, by the same token, best left unnumbered.

The result, of course, is a more or less hopeless bibliographic tangle, and no one at all familiar with the very real difficulties involved will be greatly surprised to learn that, when the first recorded copy of the original sheet-music edition of the *Star-spangled Banner* came to light here in Philadelphia some twenty years ago, it was described in an illustrated magazine article as a mere curiosity and that it required the combined talents of Mr. Dielman of the Maryland Historical Society, Mr. Muller of the New York Public Library, and Mrs. Redway, a specialist in musical Americana, to establish its definite priority. Yet with ordinary luck and a little experience with musical problems the average bibliographer can establish the publication date of a comparable Continental edition in a few minutes. Until about the year 1820, when the practice of copyrighting sheet music became general here, we are wholly dependent, for dates of publication, on publishers' addresses (at best uncertain guides), contemporary advertisements (when they can be found), and occasional publishers' plate numbers. After 1820 the situation, if somewhat improved, is still far from ideal. Many publications, among them the musically important early editions of the German classics, were, in their very nature, ineligible for copyright. And, to cite but one example of the sort of complication that may arise, even in this period, publisher A may register a copyright claim, then transfer his plates to publisher B, who, after reissuing the publication with his own imprint, may transfer them in turn to publisher C, who adds a serial plate number of his own—a by no means hypothetical case. I have in mind a particular issue of the *Star Spangled Ban-*

ner, bearing a copyright claim for 1843, actually struck off sometime between 1849 and 1852, according to Mr. Muller's calculations, but not finally placed on sale until 1856. Here copyright claim yields one result, imprint a second, publisher's number a third.

My point, to put it as simply as possible, is that in this field—one that is only just beginning to arouse the interest of the general bibliographer and collector of Americana—there is much spadework yet to be done. If for the period prior to 1800 we can still make good use of O. G. Sonneck's classic study, *The Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, the period 1800–1850 remains, for the most part, uncharted territory. Before the problem can be dealt with as a whole, special studies of single localities, even single publishers, must be undertaken. And if I have succeeded, this morning, in prompting even one such study, I shall feel well satisfied and shall know that I have not wasted your time.

A MANUSCRIPT OF SIR JOHN SMYTHE'S "CERTAIN DISCOURSES"

By THOMAS M. SPAULDING*

IN THE year 1590 Sir John Smythe, cousin of Edward VI, published a little book entitled *Certain Discourses . . . Concerning the formes and effects of diuers sorts of weapons and other verie important matters Militarie.* Being an "English book before 1641," it has a certain arbitrary collectors' value, regardless of merit, similar to that of any book printed anywhere before 1501. Its subject would not seem likely to bring it any greater attention than that excited by its date, for old military treatises, as such, are not of present interest to many persons. A few of these old military works, however, are still read; and one of these is Sir John Smythe's eloquent defense of the longbow against the new inventions. The displacement of the historic English weapon by the arquebus and the musket is a matter of more than merely technical importance, and contemporary discussions of the merits of each are carefully studied and weighed by modern historians. Sir Charles Oman, in his recent *History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century*, devotes three pages to an analysis of the arguments of Sir John and his opponents.

The *Certain Discourses* appeared in 1590, as has been mentioned, and immediately entered the class of rare books through the kind offices of the government, which ordered its suppression two weeks after publication. Besides the printed copies,

* Communicated to the Editor.

at least one manuscript survives, being the Phillipps manuscript No. 18380, acquired by Sir Thomas about 1860. Its previous history is unknown. It is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, which likewise has a copy of the published work to place beside it—a piece of great good fortune, for in addition to the Folger copy there are only three registered in the union catalogue in Washington: one in the Library of Congress, one in the Huntington Library, and one at the University of Michigan. No thorough comparison of this manuscript with the printed text has been attempted, but a general examination leads to interesting conclusions.

The manuscript is finely written, evidently by a professional scribe, and is neatly bound in vellum with handsome gold tooling, now partly obliterated. There are sixty-two written leaves and twenty-five blanks, measuring 20 × 16 cm. Each leaf is framed with a line of red, leaving wide margins in which the topics of the text are noted, sometimes with a mere mention of the subject treated, sometimes with a short abstract of the argument. On the first written leaf is the title: *A discourse concerning the mistaking of the effects of diuers sortes of weapons in theis our dayes, and chieflie of ye Mosquett, ye Caliuer, and the longe bowe: as also ye excellent and wonderfull effects of Archers: wth diuers other particularities. Composed by Sir John Smythe Knight. 1589.*

The manuscript does not include the *Proeme Dedicatorie, to the Nobilitie of the Realme of England*, which occupies both sides of sixteen leaves of very fine print in the published work. This is largely devoted to a discussion of the parsimony, corruption, and incompetence which crippled England's military operations throughout this period. Thus it supports the criticisms of Barnaby Rich, Dudley Digges, Matthew Sutcliffe, and others and deserves the careful attention of historians of Elizabeth's reign. Probably the *Proeme* was composed after this manuscript was written.

In turning the pages, one notices at once that there are numerous interlineations and amendments of the text, done carefully and neatly but still marring somewhat the fine effect of the page. Evidently they were not the professional scribe's doing. Checking these over, fifteen insertions in the text of the manuscript are found, and all of these appear in the printed version. The manuscript is such as might well have been written for presentation by the author to a learned or a noble friend, but the recipient would hardly be expected to make a line-by-line comparison with the published work, when it appeared, and amend his manuscript accordingly.

Again, in three places a mark resembling an asterisk appears in the margin of the manuscript. Each of these is found to indicate a large insertion in the printed book, too long to be interlined. The first of them, on leaf 25 of the manuscript, marks the insertion of nearly four complete leaves (20–23) of the print, containing an interesting discussion of the superiority of archery to musketry in rapidity and reliability of fire and in execution. The mark on leaf 31 of the manuscript indicates insertion of about one full printed leaf (28–29), where Sir John rebuts the claim that the moral effect of firearms is important. Horses and men accustomed to fire, smoke, and noise, he says, are indifferent to them.

> Howbeit the volees of Archers arrowes flying together in the ayre as thick as haile do not onely terrifie and amaze in most terrible sort the eares, eyes and harts both of horses and men with the noyse and sight of their comming, but they also in their discents doo not leaue in a whole squadron of horsemen, nor footemen (although they be in motion) somuch as one man nor horse, vnstricken and wounded with diuers arrowes, if the number of Archers be answerable to the number of the squadron.

This reads like Froissart. Again, a marginal mark on leaf 50 of the manuscript indicates the addition of about one leaf of printed text (42–43).

All this suggests that the manuscript was Sir John's own copy rather than a presentation, and that it was revised by him in

preparation for publication, small alterations being interlined and larger ones written on separate pieces of paper, now lost. To negative this conclusion, there are some few differences between manuscript and print which are not indicated in the manuscript—besides matters of spelling, wherein of course Sir John and the printer took each his own separate way. On leaf 2 of the printed book is the sentence: "They fondlie scorne our ancient manner of arming," the word "fondlie" not occurring in the manuscript. The marginal note on leaf 4 of the print reads:

> I would wish that all the piques throghout England (that are for the field) should be reduced into one uniformitie of length, that is, either to seuenteene foote long by the rule, or else to eighteene foote, and not aboue, which are two foote longer than the Spaniardes do use in their milicia, & therewithall, I wold haue them to be made so light, and of very good wood, that they shold be both portable and maniable, which many of our piques at this present are not.

The corresponding note in the manuscript reads:

> I wold wishe all ye piques of England yt are ye field to be reduced into 17 foote long by ye rule wch ar two foote longer than the Spaniardes doe use in yeir Milicia, & therewithall I wold haue them to be made so lighte, being of verie good wood yt they shold bee both portable, & maniable, which manie of our piques at this time are not.

On leaf 33 of the manuscript there is a marginal note reading: "The ancient order of forming Archers in the field." It has been lined out but nevertheless appears in print. This can easily be understood as a printer's error. As to the others, they may perhaps be explained as changes made by Sir John after he had revised the manuscript and sent it to the printer.

One other notation in the manuscript requires mention. On leaf 17 of the print we read: "Two ranckes of Mosquetiers also beeing reduced before the frunt of a squadron of piques, kneeling vppon their knees. . ." In the corresponding place in the manuscript (leaf 22) someone has written in the margin: "The Printer failed to put in that worde, righte before knees." And

we find that the manuscript has "kneeling upon their right knees." This is the only amendment which must necessarily have been made after the publication of the book. The others could conceivably have been made either before or after, but it seems highly improbable that it was after. If the owner wanted the latest corrected text, he would have read the book rather than revise the manuscript. Presumably he owned them both. Certainly he did not draw the printed book from a circulating library, though it may be stubbornly argued that he might have borrowed it. But all things considered, it seems probable that this manuscript is Sir John's own. Who but the author would have lavished such loving and painstaking attention upon it? Historically the point is of no importance, but the thought gives a pleasant association to the manuscript.

REVIEWS

Peter Parley to Penrod. By Jacob Blanck. New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1938. Pp. 153. $4.50.

Anything a man can do to cut down useless efforts marks real advance. Selective bibliography has become the fashion of late.

Jacob Blanck must have had this principle in mind when he selected the books listed in his recently published *Peter Parley to Penrod*, so aptly subtitled, "A Bibliographical Description of the Best-loved American Juvenile Books." This is a list of outstanding titles "which have withstood the years of change in reading tastes and are favorites still." Roughly, the period treated is from 1827, the publication date of Samuel Griswold Goodrich's *The Tales of Peter Parley*, to the year 1926, when Will James's *Smoky* had come off the press. From this period in American juvenile literature some 113 books have been chosen as important, as lasting, and as well worth while collecting.

The author did not trust his taste alone but asked the advice of such scholars as Walter B. Briggs, Theodore Bolton, Carroll A. Wilson, Valta Parma, and many others. It is the result of many talks and probably of much correspondence, of many arguments, and of much speculation that has been set before us. The choice once made, the author went about collecting the bibliographical data, now set down in clean cold type for the benefit of the eager collector, the discriminating connoisseur, the sentimental bookworm.

American juveniles have long deserved a place in the sun. Dr. Rosenbach's learned bibliography (1933) and the earlier *Forgotten Books of the American Nursery* by Rosalie V. Halsey, beautifully printed by the Merrymount Press (1911), first drew our attention to the field. Mr. Blanck's contribution adds considerably, as his work represents a period not touched by either of the former.

Pages could be written about books that might have been included or left out. Books, in fact, could be written arguing in favor of this or that title. A history of nineteenth-century American juveniles could probably be made out of Mr. Blanck's notes and his talks with his helpful collaborators.

This is not the place to argue about such things. Do we object that, for instance, Laura Richards is represented with only one of her books? Do we feel that Kirk Munroe has been neglected with only two entries: *The Flamingo Feather* and *Fur-Seal's Tooth?* And that Ralph Barbour has but one to his name? Of course, we do. However, "selection" had been made the slogan; and the result is a fine balance of fiction, romance, travel, and fairy tale. There is but little poetry, much to our chagrin. The author's explanation (*qui s'excuse s'accuse*) that "poetry, save for the small doses crammed into the schoolboy, seems to hold no real place in the reading child's world" cannot be shared by this reviewer, who has seen children go back again and again to their rhyme books with a sparkle in their eyes as they repeated the lilting verses.

The line-title collations are excellently done. The mystery of Abbott's *Rollo: Learning To Talk* has been cleared by Mr. Blanck. Copious information about points of issue, about advertisements, about binding, and about the various issues has been given in most cases—all this in clear and understandable English without the eccentricities and isms of bibliography. As a result the list is very readable.

Regret is expressed that the illustrative side of the books has been handled too slightly. Artists like Howard Pyle, Reginald Birch, Gordon Grant, and Hugh Lofting are merely mentioned as having illustrated such or such a book. Other than that, attention is drawn to the "list of plates on page . . ." of a particular book. This casual treatment of the artist by Mr. Blanck seems a pity. While great care and love have been spent in compiling the list, in preparing the bibliographical data, even in telling us sometimes how a particular book was received, how many subsequent editions were published, and how much influence a certain title has had on the entire field, so that the list does re-create the literary side of a century of children's books, the artist (without doubt a great factor in children's literature) has been brushed aside with one line only. We do not learn whether there are line drawings, woodcuts, or halftones. While we are given all the information on the embellishment of certain front covers, "decorated with color stamping, gilt and red tomato-like peppers," we yearn to get inside of the book and see what the artist has added to the favorite text and how much he has contributed to its success.

Mr. Blanck's selected list will be a great help to collectors, librarians, and dealers. Aside from its purely informative value, it will be a delight to all interested in American literature and art. The Bowker

Company is to be congratulated on a fine typographical job (except for the title-page). The readability of the type page, the generous margins, and blank spaces for additional entries make this book a tool to be gladly used by many of us.

KARL KÜP

Jesuit Relations of Canada, 1632–1673: A Bibliography. By JAMES C. McCOY with an Introduction by LAWRENCE C. WROTH. Paris: Arthur Rau, 1937. Pp. xv+310+[36]; frontispiece (port.) and 65 title facsimiles. Large 8vo. Edition limited to 350 copies, of which 25 are on Arches vellum paper, uncut in wrappers at 450 francs; and 325 copies on rag paper, bound in buckram at 225 francs. For sale in New York by Lathrop C. Harper.

It will not be necessary for us to repeat here the tale of adventure, hardship, heroism, and devotion which lies back of the writing of the Jesuit "Relations." Nor do we need to tell again the reasons for their importance to the historian or of their charm to the collector; neither is it necessary to explain the details of their transmittal and printing in Europe or of the efforts of three centuries of bibliographers to prepare an accurate description of the series. All this has been done for us in attractive and adequate fashion by Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth in his paper, *The Jesuit Relations from New France*, which appeared in our *Papers*, XXX, Part II (1936), 110–49.

The publication of this volume came as a surprise to most scholars, for only a few knew of the late James C. McCoy's keen interest in the early history of French Canada or of his great collection of historical material relating to New France. He was successful, however, during the thirty years of his collecting, in bringing together one of the most complete sets of the Jesuit "Relations" to be found anywhere; and, being a thorough though modest scholar, he also gathered all possible bibliographical data on this exceedingly intricate and confusing subject. Wishing to share the results of his studies with other scholars and collectors, he prepared the present volume for publication and was just finishing his fascinating though laborious task when he died. His family fully realized the importance of the volume to Canadian students and collectors and so decided to have it published as a fitting tribute to the memory of this eminent collector who studied his books and wished others to benefit from his researches.

This bibliography furnishes us with an accurate and detailed de-

scription of the 132 editions and distinct variations in which the 41 separate "Relations" are found. A full-page facsimile of the original title-page precedes each entry and is followed by a brief title and a note as to the size, signatures, and collation. Following this is a detailed collation, a note as to the headlines and catchwords, and a description of variations. Copies are located in the principal collections, with a further note as to the particular copy described in the bibliography. Following Mr. McCoy's original entry, there is, in many cases, an additional note by the editors of the volume describing variants and locating copies unknown to the original compiler. These include copies in the collection of Mr. James F. Bell, of Minneapolis, new additions to the John Carter Brown Library, and others unknown to Mr. McCoy. Through the inclusion of these editorial notes, the bibliography has been brought up to date without disarranging the manuscript as left by Mr. McCoy.

One of the most useful features of the bibliography is the synoptic table which fills the final 30 pages and gives at a glance the distinguishing features of all of the known variants of each edition, arranged in tabular form. This table will be of the greatest use for quick identification of variants and does much to clear away the confusion which has surrounded the "Relations" ever since bibliographers have struggled with this difficult subject. The Bell and other copies added by the editorial notes are not included in this tabulation.

The one feature of this work which has done most to make it clear and understandable is the discarding of the term "issue" to describe the variant copies of the different titles and editions. In books of this period it was usual for the printer to make corrections in the standing type throughout the running of each impression, with the result that almost no two copies were issued exactly alike. Bibliographical practice in the past was in the habit of describing these as first, second, third "issue," and the like, which was confusing and inaccurate, since it is impossible, in many cases, to establish the priority of the variant copies. In this bibliography the compiler has wisely used, instead, the terms "Variant 1," "Variant 2," "Variant 3," etc., a procedure which is clear and accurate. Each separate printing is, properly, called an "edition"; and each copy showing textual or typographical changes, a "variant."

This work sums up all previous bibliographical knowledge of the "Relations," adds greatly to it, and puts it for the first time into the

convenient form of a single attractively printed volume. It should be in every scholarly library, public and private, for it is an indispensable aid to the study of the Jesuit "Relations" of Canada.

R. W. G. Vail

The Maryland Press 1777–1790. By Joseph Towne Wheeler. With an Introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1938. Pp. xvi+226. $4.50.

Undertaken as a continuation of Lawrence C. Wroth's *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, Mr. Wheeler's book has admirably succeeded in following the pattern of the earlier volume. During the fourteen-year period covered by this bibliography, in the words of the author, "the Revolution was fought and won, the Articles of Confederation were accepted and, after a trial under difficult circumstances, gave place to the Federal Constitution." Certainly, these few years, which cover one of the most significant and interesting decades of American history, deserve the close attention that they receive in *The Maryland Press*. Mr. Wheeler has added greatly to the worth of his book by including biographical accounts of the printers who were operating their presses in Maryland during this period.

The bibliography itself is excellent, listing 550 titles, each of which is adequately entered in a chronological arrangement. Of these titles, 225 were unknown to Evans—a noteworthy addition. Among them are 146 which comprise one of the most interesting sections of the bibliography—the theater posters. Recording, as they do, various performances presented at the theaters in Baltimore and Annapolis during the fourteen years covered, they furnish a valuable insight into the dramatic tastes of the day. The student of the drama in America will certainly find much of interest in this unexplored field. Mr. Wheeler has included information on the box-office receipts of the performances, which he ascertained from manuscript notes on a series of posters formerly in the office file of one of the managers of the theater.

The record also includes the Maryland newspapers of the period; the ever popular almanacs, several of which are in German; the Maryland editions of the Articles of Confederation and the Declaration of Independence; congressional resolutions; the laws of Maryland; the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1783, which ended the war with Great Britain; several pamphlets which treat of the Northwest and proposals for its government; tracts on slavery; and a few Washington items.

Mr. Wheeler has added his own notes to a large number of the entries. The utility of his list is further increased by the location of copies wherever possible. One is impressed, indeed, with the thoroughness of Mr. Wheeler's bibliographical scholarship.

The biographical accounts of the early Maryland printers are very entertaining. The most interesting figure of them all is William Goddard, the versatile Connecticut Yankee, who established his press at Baltimore in 1772. Enterprising and ingenious, he was a vigilant supporter of the freedom of the press. He was, however, hotheaded and stubborn and failed to get along with his associates. He even quarreled with his capable and patient sister, Mary Katherine Goddard, who stands out as a truly remarkable character. Trained as a printer, she was a great help to her younger brother, whose varied interests often kept him away from his printing office. In connection with the Goddard press at Baltimore, two other names appear—Eleazer Oswald and Edward Langworthy—successively partners of Goddard. Mr. Wheeler has not neglected the lesser printers at Baltimore who at one time or another competed with the Goddard press, notably John Dunlap, James Hayes, Jr., and John Hayes. John Dunlap and James Hayes are chiefly notable for their establishment of a press at Richmond in 1781 at the invitation of Governor Jefferson. The Green press at Annapolis also comes in for its share of attention.

Another interesting figure is Matthias Bartgis, who established his press at Frederick in 1777. As the first Maryland press set up in the back country and as the source of a large number of German imprints, it has real significance. Mr. Wheeler suggests that Bartgis deserves monographic treatment and provides an excellent point of departure for some future investigator.

As a newcomer to the field of American bibliography, Mr. Wheeler has made an eventful debut. He has reason to feel proud of his *Maryland Press*, for he has made a very real contribution to knowledge of the cultural and historical background of Maryland.

FREDERICK R. GOFF

Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints 1749–1800. By DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. $4.00.

Though the publication of *Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints*, Douglas C. McMurtrie has added another important title to

the imposing list of his contributions to American typographical history. In the analytical introduction he has written for the present book, Mr. McMurtrie has paid tribute to his chief predecessor in the field it covers, that is, to Stephen B. Weeks, whose brief *Press of North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, first issued in 1891, established the ideal form for the monographic treatment of the presses of separate colonies or states. It is a matter for comment and praise that in his revision of Weeks's list of imprints, Mr. McMurtrie has expanded the number of titles recorded by Weeks from 131 to a new total of 290, a degree of increase which completely justifies the publication of a second work on the issues of the North Carolina press.

An interesting feature of Mr. McMurtrie's introduction to the present book is a schedule of the sessions of the North Carolina Assembly, with the revised record of the printed journals and session laws of each. His further analysis of the North Carolina printed production involves a statistical consideration of its subject matter. Mr. McMurtrie's continued utilization of the deposits of colonial government publications in the Public Record Office, London (he adds 38 unique titles to the present list from that source), has been one of the salutary lessons to bibliographers in our time.

The notes and documentation of the titles in this bibliography, drawn from newspaper advertisements, journals of assembly, and other contemporary sources, are pertinent and directly helpful. It is altogether a work of excellent bibliographical craftsmanship, though some of us feel that in a full-dress bibliography, with complete title-page transcriptions and extensive annotations, it is inappropriate to give a niggardly collation consisting only of measurements by centimeters and a summary statement of pagination. At the very least, for purposes of identification, format by fold of sheet should be given, and the actual paging, showing errors, if any, should be recorded. And the omission of newspaper entries seems ill-advised: for one reason that might be given for omitting newspapers, there are a good round dozen for including them. By way of appendixes, the book contains an addendum of three titles lately acquired by Matt B. Jones, of Boston, two of them previously unknown in actual copies; a discussion of 39 doubtful titles (in which, probably, the two Hermon Husbands titles of 1770 should have been included); two indexes; and a helpful list of North Carolina printers.

L. C. W.

The Colonial Printer. By LAWRENCE C. WROTH. Portland, Me.: Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1938. Pp. xxiv+368. $7.50.

Mr. Wroth's *Colonial Printer*, looked at from the viewpoint of scientific bibliography, appears silhouetted against the wide horizon of a half-century's research in this country and, examined more attentively, as a foundation on which the work of the future will be based. The book is an exposition of the present-day knowledge concerning the mechanical essentials which make it possible to claim that bibliography is a scientific pursuit; the thoroughness of its treatment of details and the soundness of its method show where the workers who will carry on the subject henceforth can apply their efforts most fruitfully.

The work was originally outlined as a background study for the history of Maryland printing which became the cornerstone of Mr. Wroth's reputation. It proved its quality when read at the 1922 meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America. It attracted the attention of others who were working along parallel lines, and the author soon became an unofficial clearing house for current studies in the field of American printing. This led in 1931 to a volume printed at the Merrymount Press for the Grolier Club, which standardized a mass of miscellaneous, largely haphazard research on various aspects of local typographical interest. The importance of that work—a limited edition held largely within the club membership—was promptly recognized and stimulated further investigation in many directions. More important, the work of preparing it for publication revealed phases of the subject of essential importance that had been overlooked. Thanks to the Southworth-Anthoensen Press of Portland, Maine, it has now been placed within the reach of the interested public. It is the same work, but so thoroughly revised and reconsidered by the author and his correspondents that—not least of the reasons for gratitude to the publisher—the first edition can now be returned to the book-collectors to be treasured as a recognized landmark in the history of typography.

Mr. Wroth ties himself to his predecessors by a conventional opening, retailing all the "firsts," quite regardless of importance or coordination. After this concession to tradition, he moves promptly and aggressively onto advanced ground, which he had already staked out as his own by his contributions to the Dolphin annuals, discussing succinctly and comprehensively the Colonial printing house, its press, type, ink, paper, binding, and workmen. The type leads him off into

the subject of type-founding (long one of his major interests), whence he proceeds to the consideration of paper and the vital problem, always a source of anxiety to the Colonial newspaper-publishers, of saving and collecting rags. A second section of the work breaks out on newer ground, of wider interest to readers, in discussing the general trade conditions in the colonies, the contents and the external characteristics of the things produced by those early printers.

The notes to the new edition, consolidated at the end of the text, are half again as long as before. They make this an indispensable reference work for those who are engaged in bibliographical studies and for library information desks. Mr. Wroth has made good use of his time during these recent years, and these notes bear the fruit. Here will be found the names of every student, not a recluse, who has contributed to the knowledge of American printing, and references to the places where information is most authoritatively presented on all the phases of the matters discussed in the text.

The most debatable pages in the volume bring up a problem which was considered more than once in these papers twenty years ago. This is the importance, and the virtual impossibility, of finding out not what we have left from past printing but the relation of what we have to what we might have had if a copy of everything had been preserved. Mr. Wroth prints the complete record for one year, 1765, from the job book of the firm of Franklin and Hall, of Philadelphia. Comparing this with the entries in the bibliography of Franklin imprints compiled by William J. Campbell, he gets 1 : 4.6 as the ratio of things existing to things actually printed.

A further examination of the entries for 1765 gives additional information. Of the 75 pieces of printing entered in this office record of what was then and is still known as "job printing" nearly all are for a single page; and, with one exception, none are larger than a four-page fold. Six of these can now be found. A comparison with the 19 entries for this year in Campbell's *Catalogue* shows that the shop also produced 53 four-page newspapers, besides a Carrier's Address that got onto the job book but which undoubtedly went to the newspaper account; three sections of the current volume of Pennsylvania laws, together with the assembly proceedings, which are not known to exist; two almanacs; a sermon; besides two booklets and a medical work, and no telling how many other things, which cannot be found. Reckoning the law books by sections, this gives 6 publications of assorted sizes that have survived and at least 4 that have disappeared.

Curiously, the only entry that can be called a book, in the job book, is larger (176 pages) than any of those entered in Campbell under this year. It is the well-known *Catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia*, one of Pennsylvania's cultural cornerstones, and it is entered in Campbell under 1764, which is the date on the title-page. The job book contributes the information that 400 copies were printed, and that, although it was presumably started early enough the previous autumn to have that year on its title, it did not get out of the printers' hands until May 3. Offsetting this confusion is an entry in Campbell of an insurance policy under 1765, for which there is no corresponding entry in the job book. The reason undoubtedly is that the date is taken from the year written in when the policy was issued, and the printing will be found on an earlier page of the book.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP

The Americana Collection of Herschel V. Jones. A check list compiled by WILBERFORCE EAMES. New York: Privately printed by William E. Rudge's Sons, 1938. $15.00.

The check list of the Herschel V. Jones library performs certain clear-cut services to the bookman and historian: through its brevity and straightforward chronological arrangement it furnishes a comprehensible picture of one of the notable Americana collections of our time; through its references to other bibliographies it points the way to broad investigations; and, not least, through the nature of its contents it holds out to present and future collectors of Americana a high ideal of attainment. These valuable services would have been still more valuable and the check list of greater significance if, in the course of making it, the distinguished editor had been able, himself, to examine the library of which it is a record. The constructive bibliographical imagination functions better in the actual presence of books than when it is confronted, as in this case, merely with a list drawn up for purposes of inventory. The Jones check list, therefore, is a guide to information rather than a source of authoritative, freshly compiled data concerning editions, issues, variants, states, and versions of the sort commonly associated with the name of Wilberforce Eames.

In addition to the listing of the titles with brief references to special and general bibliographies, Mr. Eames compiled an important list of the works referred to in the references. He made also an index of titles, a subject index, and wrote a preface for the work, which directed

attention to the extraordinary items which make up the Jones Collection. Both the preface and the subject index were left unfinished. It was thought inadvisable to publish the incomplete subject index; but happily, as much as Mr. Eames had written of the preface is included in the book with an appendix in which his intention of emphasizing the quality of the whole collection and calling attention to certain of its individual titles is carried out with complete understanding by Lathrop C. Harper. A few paragraphs by Victor Hugo Paltsits, Mr. Eames's friend and literary executor, provide so much of the history of the book as is not implied in its Contents. The work thus formed, proofread and edited in part by Daniel C. Haskell of the New York Public Library, numbers in its check-list section 1,746 titles of outstanding American interest and provides the investigator in that field with one more useful work of reference.

This book will always have a special interest for American bookmen of the present generation, for, aside from its usefulness, it will be remembered as the last of the bibliographical labors of one who for the fifty years just past dominated the field of American bibliography. There is a lack of fitness, perhaps, in the choice of the word "dominated," which implies the exercise of an act of will. So gentle a man as Mr. Eames, so unworldly a nature as his, could not consciously dominate anything It might be better to say that, because of the scope of his work, its perfection, and its integrity, his influence in American bibliography was dominant for two generations. Those labors came to an end only with the physical weakness that immediately preceded his death, and, so far as is shown by the character of the two works carried on throughout his last illness, there was no good reason, save the compelling one of human mortality, why they should not have gone on forever. *The Discovery of a Lost Cambridge Imprint, John Eliot's Genesis, 1655,* published in 1937 by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, was a vital contribution to American bibliography; *The Americana Collection of Herschel V. Jones* is a check list that becomes part of the equipment of future historians and bookmen.

The Herschel V. Jones check list, thus intimately associated with the memory of Wilberforce Eames, stands also as a monument to the Minneapolis newspaper proprietor who is described in Lathrop C. Harper's excellent prefatory essay as "the most astute and also the most beloved collector of our time."

L. C. W.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus: A Check-List of Editions in the United States and Canada as They Appear in the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress. Mills College, Calif., 1938. Pp. xx+240. $5.00.

The check list of editions of Horace undertaken by the late Dr. Ernest Kletsch, of the Library of Congress, has been completed by an editorial committee at Mills College. The handsome quarto volume now at hand reflects credit, accordingly, on more persons than may well be listed here; their names appear in the Preface.

Essentially this is a list of editions and extracts, including translations, but not commentaries without text. Twenty-seven manuscripts or, rather, twenty-five manuscripts and two facsimilies are included. There are also a few curiosities, such as item 1613, which is an autograph manuscript translation of *Odes* ii. 3, written by R. L. Stevenson at the age of eighteen. More than twenty-seven hundred items are listed, and there is an Index of Editors, Translators, and Printers.

Truly, the poet of the Sabine farm might say again, on surveying this work: "Non omnis moriar."

BEN C. CLOUGH